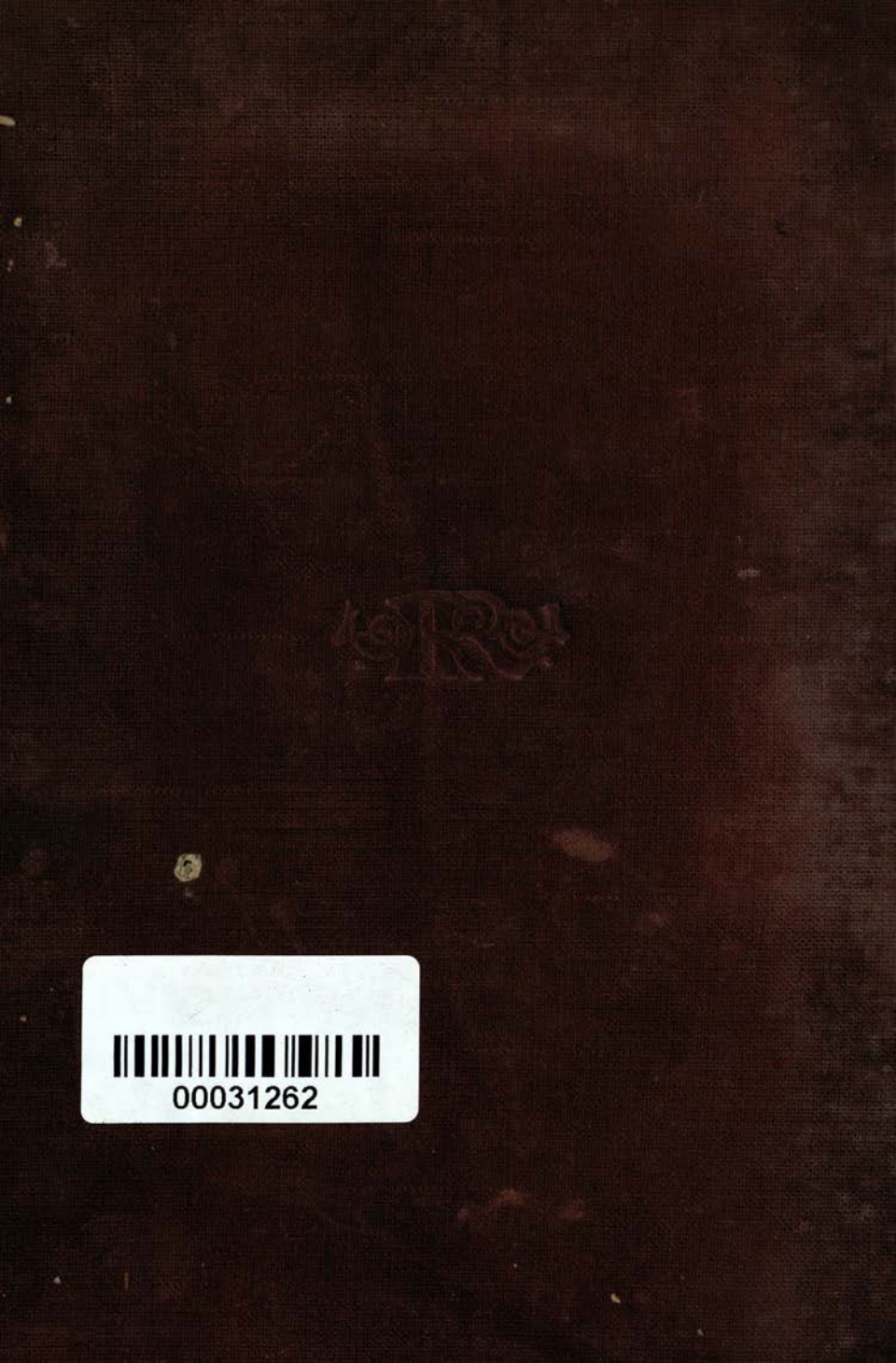
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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY

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A SKETCH OF GENERAL POLITICAL HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES'
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England and the Scottish Lowlands: Tudor and Stuart Periods.
Ireland in Tudor and Stuart Times.
Central Europe, 1558-1658.
The West Indies and Central America.

CHAPTER I. FROM MEDIÆVAL TO MODERN

I. The Western World

No precise moment can ever be fixed upon as marking the beginning and end of an era, a period marked by definite characteristics which distinguish it as a whole from that which preceded and that which followed. There is always a stage of transition, during which the special features of the old period are decaying and the special features of the new are developing. We are accustomed to recognise a broad distinction between the mediæval and modern, but a dividing line between the two can only be drawn arbitrarily in connection with some particular event presumed to be of exceptional importance. Our point of view may lead us to choose for our date the invention of the printing-press about 1440, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the great voyage of Columbus in 1492, the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494, or the Diet of Worms in 1521. Each of those events has a great significance in the world's history. In England there is an obvious convenience in fixing upon a date of very minor significance, the accession of the Tudor dynasty, which falls very nearly midway between the invention of printing and the Diet of Worms. It is a date not in itself connected with any world movement; but it was while the Tudors were reigning that the impulse of the whole group of world movements made itself decisively felt in England, and the Tudor period forms a chronologically definable stage of the national development.

Mediæval and modern.

Picturesquely, most of us probably distinguish the mediæval from the modern as the age of armoured knights in opposition to the age of gunpowder; a distinction of the smallest vital importance, but one which appeals to the pictorial imagination. But if we should endeavour to

The note of distinction.

sum up in any one phrase the fundamental difference between the world which came under our purview in the first volume of this history and the modern world, we shall perhaps find it in the *enlargement of horizons.*

Limits of the old world: material

The mediæval world, the world known to Christendom, was geographically an exceedingly restricted world, corresponding almost with precision to the empire over which Rome had once held sway, with the addition of the regions between the Baltic and the Danube. All that lay eastward beyond the Euphrates was a land of myths and marvels no less than in the days of Herodotus. Westward was the ocean of the world's end; southward none had passed beyond the Mediterranean littoral or turned the western shoulder of Africa. The Moslem barrier, and the deserts or mountains behind the Moslem barrier, were practically impenetrable. The known world was only a corner of the globe, hardly more than one-eighth of the surface of one hemisphere of the globe, though daring travellers brought from the East wonderful tales of remote Cathay and India. The whole Western Hemisphere, the whole Southern Hemisphere, were beyond the realms even of conjecture. We are in what is essentially the modern world when it has become recognised as a navigable globe—a globe which has actually been circumnavigated, after the voyage of Magelhaẽs in 1520. The whole world instead of a mere fraction of it has been brought within the range of investigation; the exploration of its entire surface has become merely a question of time.

and intellectual.

Equally emphatic is the expansion of the intellectual horizon. For ten centuries the Church set limits to inquiry. Its dogmas were not to be challenged, and no speculations might be indulged in which did not start from the acceptance of its pronounced dogmas as axiomatic truths; speculation was dangerous if it traversed even such popular perversions of those dogmas as ecclesiastical authority found it convenient to endorse. The investigation of Nature, the attempt to acquire control over her energies, was virtually prohibited by the conviction that such a control could be obtained only

by traffic with the Prince of Darkness. Nature could be controlled only by the supernatural. The constant intervention of supernatural powers was a part of the orthodox theological creed. If Nature could be controlled without such intervention, the whole conception of supernaturalism would be called in question; it might not be called in question, therefore the possession of abnormal powers must be attributed not to scientific knowledge but to supernatural aid. The search after knowledge was in effect prohibited when the attainment of it involved punishment for practising magic.

The modern contrast.

But to the modern mind the mastery over Nature, the power of appropriating her energies to the use of man, the persistent exemplification by experiment of the unfailing operation of law, the progressive formulation of laws, are objects of human endeavour not only permissible but, in fact, imperative. Under mediæval conditions, if facts came into collision with the current interpretation of theology, it was so much the worse for the facts. In the modern view the facts stand immutable, and it is the current theology which must be modified—that is to say, the intellectual horizon of the Middle Ages was bounded by the current theology; the modern intellect recognises no limit, unless it be that of the material universe.

The right of choice.

Most emphatically this enlargement of horizons differentiates modern from mediæval religion. To the mediæval world at large, religion meant the due discharge of enjoined observances, faith the acceptance of enjoined tenets —the limitation in both cases being to what was enjoined by the one infallible authority, which might not be questioned. It would be too much to say that modern conceptions recognise no infallible authority; but modern conceptions throw upon the individual the responsibility for choosing which authority he will accept, if any—whether it be the Catholic Church of the Romanist or the Anglican, or the inspired word of the Scripture. The individual must make his own horizon. The right to make that choice, to make any choice, was vetoed by the mediæval system; whereas it is the root principle at the bottom of every revolt against ecclesiastical authority, even where the rebel is

prepared to impose the horizon of his own choosing upon mankind at large. In the Middle Ages the one common Church of Western Christendom fixed the intellectual and religious horizon; in modern times reason has displaced the ecclesiastical authority. Erasmus and Luther were the outcome of the demand for intellectual release; the battle was won at the Diet of Worms, where Luther's stand was only in part the victory of the Protestant Reformation. Though Luther himself did not think of it in that light, it was also the victory of the Scientific Reformation, which may in some sort be described as having begun with Copernicus.

The two most fundamental changes, then, were the geographical and the intellectual revolutions, bringing new and vast regions into the sphere of the physical and mental energies of the peoples of Europe. Somewhat different were the changes in the social and political structure, which were rather developments of method. The mediæval order was based theoretically upon the three conceptions of the Church, the Empire, and Feudalism. England, outlying, cut off by the sea—which had always been a barrier between it and the Continent, though now for four centuries it has been a highway to other portions of the globe—was less touched by any one of these three ideas than any other part of Europe. She was always outside the boundaries of the Empire, she was always comparatively independent of the Papacy, and her Feudalism had a modified character peculiar to itself. Consequently she was able to advance, politically, ecclesiastically, and socially, upon national lines much more rapidly than the states of Europe. In fact, three modern states—England, Scotland, and France—were the only ones which had attained anything like an organic unity when the Turks captured Constantinople and put an end to the Greek Empire. The imperial idea and the nationalist idea are incompatible until the achievement of unity is sought through union and not through uniformity. The Holy Roman Empire had never attempted to shape itself upon nationalist lines; the rivalry of the Papacy and the disintegrating force of Feudalism had prevented it from becoming more than an aggregate of atoms.

The political and social structure.

But although the full force of nationalism was not going to make itself felt till more than three hundred years had passed, the movement to consolidation was in active progress. England and Scotland had led the way. The consolidation of France needed for its completion only the absorption of the semi-independent Brittany, after Louis XI. had brought Provence and the duchy of Burgundy within his own dominion. In 1450 the Spanish peninsula was made up of five kingdoms, Navarre, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and the Moorish Granada. In the year 1500 all except Portugal were under one crown; and Spain was a consolidated power. The Emperor Maximilian was making renewed efforts for the union of Germany. By 1520 Maximilian's grandson, Charles V., was king of a united Spain, lord of a great part of Italy, and of the whole Burgundian inheritance, including the Netherlands, and had just been elected emperor. Within the next decade Ferdinand, the brother of Charles; already in possession of the German territories of the Hapsburgs summed up under the name of Austria, had acquired the crowns of the Magyar kingdom of Hungary and Slavonic Bohemia. In the middle of the century, with the abdication of Charles V., the imperial crown passed permanently from the Spanish branch to this junior branch of the house of Hapsburg. Later still, the Netherlands broke out against the dominion of the Hapsburg who had identified himself with Spain—Charles himself had always been a Burgundian much more than a Spaniard—and entered upon the long struggle which established the independence of Holland.

National consolidation.

That is to say, between 1485 and 1603 these changes had taken effect in the structure of Europe: France had become a complete consolidated state; Spain had become a complete consolidated state, and was still in possession of a substantial portion of the Burgundian inheritance, which for some time bears the name of the Spanish Netherlands; another portion of the Burgundian inheritance had raised itself to the position of a great maritime state, though its independence was not yet quite completely established; the Austrian cousins of the Spanish Hapsburg ruled over the Austrian territories of Germany and

the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, corresponding approximately to the modern Austrian Empire; and the succession to the imperial crown, the headship of the German Empire, had in effect become hereditary with them.

Here again we find our formula regarding the expansion of horizons coming into play. In the Middle Ages, England was very much concerned with France and Scotland; France was very much concerned with England. But neither England, nor France after the tenth century, was greatly concerned with any other powers except the spiritual power of the Papacy, until Burgundy began to play an independent part in the fifteenth century; then Burgundy became a complicating factor in the foreign relations of both countries. But with the consolidation of Spain arose rivalries between France and Spain, owing primarily to the claims to territories in Italy asserted by each of those powers: by the French Crown as representing the old claims of the house of Anjou, and by the Spanish Crown as representing the claims of a branch of the house of Aragon. The rivalry of France and Spain could not be a matter of indifference to England, and Spain was drawn into the English as well as into the French horizon. Still more was this the case when Burgundy itself became united to Spain through the marriage of the grandson of Charles the Rash to the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, whereby their son Charles became lord both of Spain and of Burgundy. When a potentate already so powerful became also German Emperor, the Empire, too, was inevitably brought within the horizon. As yet the Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg remained practically outside the horizon, belonging to Eastern Europe rather than to Western Christendom. For the Austrian dominion had become, upon land, the buffer between Western Europe and the Turk.

Multiplication of foreign relations.

The reference to the Hapsburgs perhaps requires some explanation. The Hapsburg Frederick III. was German Emperor from 1440 to 1493. His son and successor Maximilian married Mary, the daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash of Burgundy. This gave Burgundy not to

The house of Hapsburg.

Maximilian himself but to the son of this marriage, Philip the Handsome. This Hapsburg Philip the Handsome married Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, whose marriage united the crowns of those two kingdoms. Their conquest of Granada made Joanna the heiress of the whole of Spain. The marriage of Philip and Joanna produced two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, who between them were the heirs of the Spanish monarchy, of their grandmother Mary of Burgundy, and of their grandfather Maximilian of Austria. The Burgundian and Spanish dominions went to Charles, the Austrian to Ferdinand; the imperial crown went to Charles, but on his death passed not to his son, Philip of Spain and Burgundy, but to his brother, Ferdinand of Austria. Thus Charles and Ferdinand were the progenitors of the kindred Hapsburg houses of Spain and Austria.

The inclusion, then, within the Anglo-French horizon of Burgundy, Spain, and the Empire, and, for England to a less extent, of Italy, introduced Europe to a new international formula, the Balance of Power. It had become at once an object of English policy to preserve an equipoise between the great powers. There is no longer any question of England conquering France and remaining indifferent to what goes on in Europe outside of France. She cannot afford to let France grow too powerful; she must hold the scales between France and Spain; and when the Hapsburg dynasty is established in Spain she cannot afford to view the Hapsburg ascendency with equanimity. Gradually the Hapsburg power becomes strong, and for a very long time remains more menacing than the French.

The Balance of Power.

Into this political prospect there enter two other factors besides the consolidation of European states, the Reformation and the appropriation of the New World by Spain, with which is presently included the absorption by Spain of the Portuguese maritime empire in the East. The sphere of English activity is no longer confined to the British Isles and France; it extends immediately to Western Europe in general, and before a century has passed is expanding over the entire globe.

The discovery of the New World entered into European politics, and influenced international policy because it not only opened up new sources of wealth but created new causes of rivalry and new conflicts of interest, as also did the simultaneous discovery of the ocean highway to the East. Maritime supremacy acquired a new character. Hitherto it had meant ascendency in the Mediterranean or ascendency in the Channel; in the latter case for military more than for commercial reasons. Now it became to the nations with an Atlantic seaboard the decisive factor in the acquisition of territory and the appropriation of trade in the hitherto unknown Far East and Far West. Till the end of the fifteenth century the suggestion of a British Empire would have provided no food even for the imagination. Expansion was impossible, conquest not feasible. A French or even a Spanish empire in Europe might not have seemed incredible, but the idea of a Portuguese or a Dutch empire would have appeared merely absurd. Yet each of these nations actually created an empire overseas; and their imperial rivalries influenced European wars and European alliances not less than the interests, which had their origin in Europe itself.

Political meaning of the New World

The Reformation, too, was not merely a decisive moment in an intellectual and religious movement, nor was it only the negation of the mediævally conceived Church Universal. It was a political factor of the first importance, because nations ranged themselves under the Papal or the Protestant banner. The victory of orthodoxy or of 'the religion' became primary objects of statesmen; and when statesmen were prone to indifferentism their hands were forced by the peoples. England, Scotland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms became decisively Protestant, Spain decisively Papalist. France alone endeavoured to push French interests in her international policy, irrespective of Protestantism or Papalism. The king of Spain had hardly become German Emperor when Germany was cloven in twain, the bulk of the northern states adhering to the new religion, while the bulk of the southern states stood by the Papacy; and then the papalist king of Spain, as lord of the

and of the Reformation.

Low Countries, found himself plunged in a deadly struggle with one half of the Netherlands, which was ready to fight to the death for its Protestantism. The Reformation was directly responsible for the creation of an independent Holland, and shared with the discoveries of Columbus the responsibility for the deadly struggle between Spain and England. And in the next century it was still the Reformation that was responsible for the Thirty Years' War, which deluged Germany with blood.

The old ideal of the Empire of Christendom gave way before the consolidation of great states, and ideals of empire more trans-oceanic than European. The idea of the Universal Church, a spiritual Empire of Christendom, with the Pope at its head, was shattered by the Reformation. The third basis of the mediæval structure was Feudalism. Politically Feudalism broke down, except in Poland, because the Crown acquired effective control. In England that battle had been won even in mediæval times; the country had gone further, had passed through its brief stage of absolutism, and had established the principle that the power of the central government must rest upon the assent of the people at large. It had not yet established the supremacy of parliament; the Tudor monarchs conducted their government with more than sufficient freedom from fear of parliamentary opposition. But they did so always with the lively consciousness that popular acquiescence was a necessity, and that popular acquiescence would cease unless friction at tender points, especially the pocket, were avoided. An illusion was created that the monarchy had become absolute, because under the Tudors the people were acquiescent; that illusion brought about the struggle with the Stuarts and the definite establishment of parliamentary supremacy. The Tudor government was not constitutional, in the sense that it was not controlled by the later Whig conceptions of the authority of parliament; but it was not a real absolutism, because it never ignored popular sentiment, and could never have ventured safely to do so.

Feudalism: its political defeat in England

But elsewhere the Crown was only just acquiring that mastery over the feudal nobility which was the condition of national

consolidation. The struggle was long before Feudalism was completely beaten, and practically every European state, except Britain and Holland and Switzerland, was ruled by an absolute monarchy. Outside of the countries named the creation of absolutism was a necessary progressive movement, which in England had taken place centuries before. In England the absolutist movement was retrogressive except in so far as, under the Tudors, it was the necessary countermove to a recrudescent Feudalism. When continental absolutism was reaching its zenith under Louis XIV., Britain was setting its seal upon constitutionalism by the ejection of the Stuarts.

and in Europe.

Politically Feudalism was going under throughout the sixteenth century, and finally perished in the first half of the seventeenth, though it was yielding to an absolutism which in England belonged to the past. Socially it held its own. The term in its full significance only applies where there is a hereditary *noblesse* at the top of the social scale and hereditary serfs at the bottom; a *noblesse* whose ranks can only be entered from below with extreme difficulty, serfs who can only emerge from serfdom with extreme difficulty. In England and Scotland there was never a true feudal *noblesse*, because there was no hard and fast line between classes; the preservation of rank by inheritance applied only to a single individual in each generation; the brother or the son of a living baron was not, as such, a noble but, a commoner enjoying no legal privileges whatever. In a genuine feudal society the legitimate children of a noble were all noble themselves and transmitted their nobility to their offspring; and with nobility went legal privileges. In England there had been a servile class, the villeins; but we have seen that villeinage disappeared, and only here and there are survivals of serfdom to be found after the fifteenth century. The law, in theory at least, recognised no distinction of classes. But on the Continent the serf remained a serf, bearing legal burdens, subject to legal liabilities, suffering from legal disabilities, because he was a serf. In England sentimental class distinctions survived, and practical distinctions ordained by sentiment and

Its social survival.

custom, but without sanction of law. On the Continent the distinctions were recognised and enforced by law as well as by sentiment and custom. The feudal structure of society lasted on the Continent all but unchanged for another three hundred years, until the French Revolution. That structure had always been very much less solid in England; after the fifteenth century it was little more than a shadow, a dim, unsubstantial reflection of the feudal society of Europe.

II. The Expansion

Until the close of the fifteenth century the Western Hemisphere might have been nonexistent so far as the Old World was concerned. Only adventurous Norsemen about the beginning of the eleventh century had found their way thither, reaching Greenland and probably Labrador. Nothing further had come of those voyages; they had not even produced a definite impression that great unexplored realms lay beyond the Atlantic. Iceland was supposed to be the remotest outpost, the end of the world, or rather of land. Eastward the Europeans in the days of Alexander the Great had penetrated into Central Asia, crossed the Suleiman mountains, marched through the Punjab, and explored the coasts between the Indus and the Red Sea. Of the crossing of the Equator there was no record save for an ancient tale of the Phœnicians, duly registered by Herodotus, but generally discredited for precisely the reason which convinces us that it was true. The Phœnicians said they got to a region where the midday sun was to the north of them. But the European overflow into Asia was pressed back behind the Euphrates. A new Persian dominion arose, and from behind the Persians Mongol hordes surged westward, Huns and Avars, Bulgars and Magyars, till their advance was finally stemmed about the tenth century. Meanwhile Islam had arisen, absorbing the Western Asiatic peoples and establishing a barrier through which the westerns could not pass; subjugating also the Mediterranean region of North Africa and overflowing into Spain. The conquering Turk had swept in from the East to be

The known world.

the champion of Islam and to threaten Christendom itself. All the truth that was known of the Far East, Europe owed to the great Venetian, Marco Polo; and Europe believed much more readily in such fables as those of Sir John Mandeville than in Marco Polo's facts. And Marco Polo's facts were themselves misapprehended, so that intelligent inquirers formed the conviction that Asia extended across the other side of the globe and might perhaps be reached by westward voyagers. There were traditions too, vague and fabulous, of Utopias existent somewhere, and mariner's tales, perhaps with an element of truth, of islands which had been sighted but not explored.

The work of serious exploration did not begin until the fifteenth century, and for a very long time it was undertaken only by the Portuguese. The primary moving spirit was the Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator, one of the sons of King John I. and of John of Gaunt's daughter. Until his death in 1460 Henry devoted himself to the organisation of maritime expeditions, which gradually worked their way round the western coast of Africa to the Gold Coast. Further and further the Portuguese crept, until in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz reached and doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Twelve years later Vasco da Gama had again passed the Cape, struck across the Indian Ocean, and landed on the Malabar coast of the Indian peninsula at Calicut.

The Portuguese explorers.

In those twelve years the gates of the New World were opened, and the barrier which parted the ancient East from Christendom was turned. The spirit of exploration was fermenting. The Genoese Christopher Columbus was fired with the idea of reaching the Indies not by the route which the Portuguese were apparently working out, but by voyaging straight across the western ocean. The thing could not be attempted by any man on the strength of his private resources. Columbus applied to the court of Spain, but Ferdinand and Isabella were at first too much occupied with Granada to give attention to visionary schemes. He sent his brother Bartholomew to England; but Bartholomew was captured by pirates, and it was not till 1488 that he was able to bring his projects before Henry VII.,

Columbus.

who was not unwilling to listen. But there were delays, and before anything was finally decided in England the Spanish monarchs completed their conquest of Granada and came to terms with Christopher. In 1492 the epoch-making expedition sailed, and Columbus discovered the islands which were christened the West Indies. In the next year Pope Alexander VI. drew a line down the map of the world from north to south, and pronounced that whatsoever had been or should be discovered on the hither or eastern side of that line should belong to Portugal, and whatever lay beyond it to Spain; on the hypothesis that all heathen lands were in the gift of Holy Church.

It is not probable that the papal fiat would have been very much heeded if the European states had been moved with a zeal for expansion. The English, in fact, paid no attention. The Bristol merchants, the most enterprising group in the country, had already sent ships on long voyages westward, though hitherto they had not struck land. But Spain had a right if not to the whole New World at least to that portion in which she had been the first to plant her flag. In 1497 an expedition sailed from Bristol under the auspices of Henry VII. and the captaincy of John Cabot, a Venetian or Genoese mariner who had planted himself in England with his son Sebastian. The Cabots did not aim at the same part of the New World as their compatriot; they tried further north, and discovered Labrador and Newfoundland. But this country seemed infinitely less promising than the fertile lands which had fallen to Spain. To Henry, bent on amassing wealth, it seemed a rash speculation to invest more in exploration. He let the matter drop, taking no further part in it.

The Cabots.

For more than half a century the Spaniards had the West and the Portuguese the East to themselves. English enterprise did little beyond tapping the Portuguese sphere of northern East Africa. Portugal struck the Brazils, the shoulder of South America, which happened to lie east of the line drawn by Pope Alexander; so she acquired a footing in the New World; in the East she established a maritime empire in

Progress of Portugal

the Indian Ocean and a monopoly of the Eastern trade, while the Portuguese were also the first to accomplish the circumnavigation of the globe. The empire of Portugal was not destined to last; her resources were not equal to the strain of effective colonisation. But it was otherwise with Spain. Spain got possession of the richest portion of the New World, and ultimately absorbed the heritage of the Portuguese in the East, though she was to lose most of it to the Dutch and English. Spain treated her new dominions as estates of the Crown; estates from which the coffers of the Crown were to be filled. Her rule expanded over the West Indian islands. The terms Indies and Indians were thoroughly established, while it was still believed that America was an outlying portion of India, a fiction fostered by the fact that the natives were dark-skinned like the natives of India. Ethnology had not yet learnt to distinguish between races so essentially divergent. In 1500 the northern coast of South America was traced by Amerigo Vespucci, and two years later Columbus on his last voyage struck the mainland of Central America. The Continent, the Tierra Firme of the Spaniards, became known later to English mariners as the Spanish Main.

and Spain.

The Spanish expansion continued. It was found that there was an organised empire in existence on the west of the Gulf of Mexico. Hitherto the product of the discovered lands had not been altogether satisfactory to the authorities. Gold and precious stones had been found, but not in great quantities. The reports of the tribes on the coast that a great and apparently civilised empire existed in the interior resulted in the dispatch of a small force to Mexico under the command of Fernando Cortez in 1519. We need not enter into the details of the conquest. The empire of Montezuma was overthrown, and Mexico was added to the Spanish dominion. Fourteen years later a daring expedition to the south, led by Pizarro, overthrew another empire stranger and wealthier than the Mexican, the empire of the Incas of Peru; and now the American possessions of Spain became a mine of treasure for the Spanish government, from which silver and gold and jewels were

Mexico and Peru.

poured into Europe through the Spanish treasury, with striking economic effect on the value of the precious metals apart from other political results.

Balboa's discovery in 1515 of an ocean on the other side of the Isthmus of Darien, followed by the great voyage of Magelhaës in 1520 and the conquest of Peru, opened up the Pacific to the Spaniards, who occupied the north-east coast of South America as far as the Orinoco, as well as Central America and Mexico. On the west they occupied ports from Valparaiso northward; but the great depots of their plate fleets were at Cartagena and Nombre de Dios. For a long time they had the field to themselves; no one else directed exploring expeditions, much less attempted settlements, south of the fortieth parallel, north latitude. Sebastian Cabot and other explorers made vain search for a north-west passage to the Indies; the Frenchman Jacques Cartier in a series of voyages discovered and explored the St. Lawrence, and gave France her first claim to Canada. The codbanks of Newfoundland began to attract fishing fleets, which became a great training school for mariners. But the Spaniards alone made conquests, brought the native races into subjection, and created an empire for the Catholic king. The Catholic king chose to develop the empire as a private estate, from which the foreigner was jealously excluded. But the foreigner, and especially the Englishman, objected to exclusion, and persisted in carrying on a trade with the Spanish settlements. It was difficult enough to impose any semblance of effective law upon seamen even in European waters; there was plenty of what may be called international piracy in home waters, fighting between ships of various states, which always declared that the other side were the pirates. Beyond the line—Pope Alexander's line, not the Equator—the only law was the law of the Spaniards, which in the eyes of other folk was not law at all. Elizabeth was hardly seated on the throne before English mariners were perpetually emphasising at the sword's point their theory that they had a right to trade where they liked, while the Spaniards were either treating them as pirates or delivering them over, when captured, to the tender

The Spanish Empire.

mercies of the Inquisition as heretics. Beyond this it is unnecessary to go in a preliminary sketch.

III. The Reformation

The Great Schism, the division of the Church under rival popes, one of whom was recognised by half Europe and the other by the other half, forced upon men's minds the necessity for a Reformation. At its outset John Wiclif gave the last years of his life to propounding the unorthodox doctrines which became known as Lollardy. The General Council of Constance, which met in order to end the Schism, was distinguished for burning John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who had in the main adopted Wiclif's views. In England the policy of Archbishop Arundel and the zeal of Henry V. introduced and utilised burning as the cure for heresy, with the result that the open profession of Lollardy disappeared, though not its secret dissemination. In the eastern regions of Central Europe the fire which Wiclif had kindled was not so easily suppressed. A succession, however, of popes of high character effected something towards the reform of abuses and the re-establishment of the repute of the Papacy. Still, the opportunity of superseding the authority of the Papacy by General Councils was lost when the Council of Constance postponed the handling of reforms to the election of Martin V. Inevitably the popes directed a large share of their energies to the establishment of their own position; not renewing the claim of Gregory, Innocent, and Boniface to a supremacy over emperors and kings, but to securing for the Papacy a temporal principality in Italy. But the work of worthy popes was destroyed as the century neared its end by men whose personal character was a scandal to all Christendom, ruinous to the moral prestige of the Church. The climax was reached when a Borgia ascended the papal throne as Alexander VI. And Alexander was followed by the militant and wholly unspiritual Julius II., who was followed in his turn by the intellectual pagan Leo X.

The movement in the fifteenth century.

A Church which is possessed of moral enthusiasm is a tremen-

dous power whatever its dogmatic tenets may be. The great popes and the founders of the religious orders had been moral enthusiasts. When moral enthusiasm dies out among Churchmen the influence of the Church dies with it. There had been no superfluity of it in the fourteenth century; in the fifteenth it was all but nonexistent. The Church clung to her own authority, but the thing that she sought to instil by way of religion was at best a mere formal piety with no fervour of faith behind it; the fervour of faith and the moral enthusiasm had to be sought among heretics like the Hussites and unecclesiastical mystics like Joan of Arc. Among the lower clergy the standard of intelligence as well as of morals had fallen very low. The intellectual movement which received so strong an impulse from the dispersion of Greek scholarship after the fall of Constantinople was for the most part, though not wholly, divorced from religion and morals. It produced a large amount of scepticism, cloaked by a formal orthodoxy, which deliberately encouraged superstition in the masses to keep them subservient to ecclesiastical authority.

Decay of zeal.

The Church, the ecclesiastical organisation, could not escape the necessity for reform. The world saw a clergy not less devoted to worldly ambitions, and not more impervious to fleshly temptations than the laity. But the world demands a higher standard than its own from those who pretend to be its authoritative teachers; it is peculiarly intolerant of clerical scandals and exceedingly ready to believe in them. The Church was degrading itself in the eyes of the world, and deluding itself with the belief that its failing authority was to be preserved not by its own reformation but by silencing criticism and fostering credulity. But the result was that criticism became too convincing to be silenced, and credulity proved a broken reed. The spirit of inquiry which produced a polite scepticism in the upper classes, who preserved a strict regard for social conventions, produced among more sincere but less orderly minds a vehement antagonism to all beliefs which appeared to have been imposed by human authority.

Increase of criticism.

We may, then, attempt to summarise the motives which were

at work not only in England but all over Europe in producing that extremely complex movement which is called the Reformation. In the first place, there was the eternal rivalry between the supreme spiritual power of the Papacy and the secular power of princes. In the second place, there was the anticlerical sentiment, the sentiment which always makes mankind at large jealous of peculiar privileges enjoyed by a particular group. In the third place, there was the wealth of the ecclesiastical body, which was very commonly regarded as having been acquired on false pretences, while there had never been wanting those who declared that the possession of wealth by the Church was in itself unjustifiable. All these were grievances of long standing, but they were intensified by the fact that clerical worldliness, clerical iniquity in high places, and clerical immoralities were more prominently present to men's eyes than they had been in the past. The demand, however, for a moral reformation in the Church was a recurrent one. There was nothing so far in the situation which seemed to call for a revolutionary movement, a reconstruction of bases; nothing which threatened a cleavage of Christendom.

Motives to a reformation.

The actual revolutionary movement came with the conviction that false doctrine was at the root of the evil, that doctrinal reformation was the condition without which no other reformation could be effective and permanent. The demand for doctrinal reformation was the direct outcome of the general intellectual movement applied specifically to theology. The new criticism cut at the roots of popular beliefs sanctioned by the common teaching of authority. Broadly speaking, there was one school which would have proceeded to the general repudiation of that authority and of its teaching; another school would have maintained the authority and admitted only a modification of its teaching, to be introduced only with extreme caution. The politicians cared very little about questions of doctrine in themselves; they were actuated primarily either by the desire to weaken ecclesiastical authority, as opposed to that of the State, or by the fear that all authority was at stake. But on one point they were agreed, that what-

Some characteristics.

ever the Church might be deprived of, whether authority or possessions, was not to be destroyed or dissipated but appropriated by the secular power. There was no idea of toleration, of permitting the individual to take his own course; the question was only which authority was to lay down his course for him, the State or the Church. In the sixteenth century any other view would have been regarded as anarchical. All that was meant by toleration was conveyed in a distinction between fundamentals and accidentals, which granted a degree of freedom in accidentals, *adiaphora*, but in fundamentals none whatever. The emancipation of the individual, the recognition of his right to worship in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience, was still in a remote future. Nevertheless, the freedom of the individual conscience was the only logical alternative to the recognition of an infallible authority. We can turn now from our brief exposition of the forces at work to the story itself.

Awakenings.

The new criticism did not in the first instance, or even necessarily in the long run, call for any violent departure from accepted doctrines. The torpor of the fifteenth century was giving way before its close to an awakening moral consciousness. The finest spirits of the time were earnest reformers, whose desire was to remedy the evils of the day and the evils of the Church by education. The new scholarship found its way to England, where it applied itself with avidity to the interpretation of Scripture in the light of the new knowledge. If its votaries had had their way the Church would have reformed itself from within; partly, as it had done before, by moral enthusiasm; partly by the rejection of doctrines and practices which were manifest excrescences, distortions of true doctrine, born of ignorance, and impossible of intelligent acceptance, which would be inevitably shed by an intelligent clergy alive to moral ideals. It was not till 1517 that the Revolution was initiated by the Wittenberg professor, Martin Luther.

The occasion was the need for money under which Pope Leo X. found himself. The ordinary resources of the Papacy were insufficient, and Leo had recourse to the not infrequent practice of selling Indulgences. The Indulgence was a pardon for sin, carry-

ing with it remission of the penalties in purgatory which were the sinner's due. In theory, no doubt, the efficacy of all pardon and absolution was conditional upon the sinner's repentance; in practice the populace believed, and were encouraged to believe, that their sins were remitted in consideration of the fees paid for the Indulgence. The sale of pardons was a practice of immemorial antiquity, which like many other pagan practices had been adapted to its own needs by the Mediæval Church. The only unusual characteristics of Leo's proposals were the low price of the Indulgences and the immense scale on which the transaction was to be carried out. Commissioners were to travel all over Europe for the purpose. Princes and potentates generally would have objected to this method of carrying money out of the country in exchange for such unsubstantial wares, but when they received a commission on the sales their objections were apt to disappear.

The Indulgences.

On this occasion, however, Luther, who was a professor at the university of Wittenberg in Saxony, entered a public protest, and induced the 'Good Elector' Frederick to refuse leave for the Indulgences Commission to enter his territory. Luther denounced the theory and practice of Indulgences in a series of theses, which were affixed to the door of the cathedral. The vital points of his propositions were that it does not lie with any man to forgive sins, and that to traffic in pardons was blasphemous. The position that Luther had thus taken up was embarrassing to a pope in want of money; but there were too many political problems engaging public attention for Leo to give his mind to the stern repression of the professor, who, on the other hand, was conscious that he had thrown down a challenge and was resolved to make his position good. He issued further militant declarations, and he appealed to the princes of Germany by urging them to refuse to continue the tributes which every state in Christendom paid to the papal treasury. Also he fortified himself by appealing to a General Council to judge whether he were right or wrong.

Martin Luther, 1517.

In 1519 one of the political problems of the day was settled by the election of Charles V. as emperor, he being then a youth

of nineteen. Before the end of next year Leo launched his thunderbolt, a bull pronouncing Luther a heretic; Luther burnt the bull publicly amid acclamations on 10th December. In January there was to be a Diet of the Empire at Worms, a gathering of the assemblies of electors, princes, and clergy, under the presidency of the emperor, which was a kind of parliament of the Empire. To the Diet of Worms Luther was summoned under a safe-conduct to answer for himself. He resolutely maintained the propositions he had laid down. Popular sentiment was strongly on his side; the clergy were hot against him; the princes were divided. Lest Luther should suffer the fate of John Huss, his own friends kidnapped him and hid him away in the Wartburg. He was put to the 'ban of the Empire,' condemned by the Diet but not by public opinion, and from that moment Germany was divided between Lutherans and Papalists.

The Diet of Worms, 1521.

The condemnation proved practically a dead letter. The emperor had other matters on his hands; he was plunging into a war with France, and was not at all inclined to face a civil war on account of a religious question. The management of imperial affairs was vested in a council, wherein the member who carried most weight was Frederick of Saxony, a prince held in universal esteem, who might have worn the imperial crown himself if he had not declined to be a candidate. Frederick was in effect a supporter of Luther.

The doctrines propounded by Luther were akin to those which Wiclif had propounded in the last years of his life and to those which other thinkers were already setting forth at Zurich in Switzerland, although there were extreme divergences between Luther's own views and those of the Swiss leader, Zwingli. The position in Germany was complicated by a great peasant revolt, on a much larger scale than that which had taken place in Richard II.'s reign in England; but as in England, and very much more than in England, the lead in the rising was taken by men who were actuated by religious zeal; and in public judgment Luther was associated with the movement, as Lollardy had been associated with it in England, although Luther himself condemned it in the strongest terms.

Zwingli.

The peasant revolt.

The social or political demands of the peasantry seem moderate enough in modern eyes, but in the sixteenth century they would have involved a complete subversion of the existing social order, and they appeared to be simply anarchical. Some of the religious views propounded were indubitably anarchical, and the effect was to convince the majority of respectable and ordinary persons that the new doctrines were dangerous as well as heretical. The fear of revolution consequently drove many reformers into the reactionary camp—a familiar feature of all periods of revolution.

In Germany, Luther and Lutheranism succeeded in separating themselves from the popular movement; there, a year after the suppression of the revolt, it seemed likely that no effort would be made to check the Lutheran movement officially. At the Diet of Speier the emperor withdrew from the position which he had assumed at Worms, and in effect the position was adopted that each prince should be allowed to control religion within his own territories according to his own judgment. In fact, in 1521 the interests of the emperor and the Pope drew them into alliance, because the expansion of the power of the king of France was a menace to the liberty of the Papacy. In 1526 fortune had flowed favourably for the emperor, and it was now his power in Italy which threatened the Papacy. He had no inclination to allow the peace of Germany to be threatened in order to please the Pope; he was more inclined to coerce the Pope by encouraging the rebels against the papal authority. The breach was so serious that in 1527 Rome was captured and ruthlessly sacked by imperialist troops, and Pope Clement himself became in effect the emperor's prisoner.

Changes in the attitude of Charles.

But when it ceased to be necessary to terrorise the Pope, the emperor inclined to revert to his natural disposition and to maintain orthodoxy. In 1429 the Lutherans at another Diet at Speier protested against the revival of the old decree of the Diet at Worms; wherefrom they acquired the name of Protestant, which became associated with the 'Protestant' profession of faith which was drawn up next year at

Protestantism.

Augsburg. The Confession of Augsburg was followed up by the formation of the Protestant League of Schmalkalde. It appears as though civil war was only averted by the danger threatening from the East, where the power of the Ottoman Turks was still an ever-growing menace.

It was just at this time that the quarrel between the king of England and the Papacy was approaching its climax. Some at least of the Protestant princes of Germany were actuated by genuine religious conviction; Henry's quarrel was entirely political. He regarded himself as a champion of orthodoxy; his controversial enthusiasm had even led him to plunge into the theological fray with an anti-Lutheran pamphlet, which had won for him the title of Defender of the Faith, bestowed upon him by Leo X. But when the Defender of the Faith found his wishes opposed by another pope, whom a hard fate had forced to make choice between gratifying the German emperor and the English king, Henry, without surrendering his orthodoxy, was quite ready to repudiate his allegiance to the Papacy, unconscious that the country which repudiated the papal allegiance would inevitably fall away from 'orthodox' doctrine. For the coercion of the Pope and the Pope's master the emperor, Henry had no objection to making common cause with the Protestants of other countries; and the formation of the League of Schmalkalde provided an instrument which might, if occasion arose, be utilised against the emperor. In France the position was in some respects not unlike that in England. The king and the court were orthodox—Francis I. rejoiced in the singularly inappropriate title of the Most Christian King—but while French heretics were suppressed the government had no qualms about associating itself with the heretics of other countries for political ends of its own.

England and France.

For a time, then, the equilibrium was preserved. There was no actual war of religion until after the death of Luther in 1546. Rather there was a common desire for the reunion of Christendom, an end which could only be achieved by means of a General Council. Unfortunately each party desired that the General Council should take place under conditions

The General Council.

which would ensure triumph to that party, and refused to share in it except under such conditions. The result was that when the Council of Trent was at last convoked in 1542, it was in effect not a general but a papalist assembly, whose authority was recognised by none but papalists; and instead of unifying Christendom it ended, twenty years after it had first been called, by defining the Catholic sheepfold in terms which excluded all those who still claimed to be members of the Catholic Church without acknowledging the papal supremacy. Hence in popular parlance the terms Catholic and Protestant were used as equivalent to Papalist and non-Papalist, although the Protestant Confession of Augsburg was accepted by only a section of the Protestants, and another large section claimed to be as much Catholics as any papalist.

Some while before the Council of Trent was summoned two new religious forces had come into being, one papalist, the other in the highest degree antipapalist. The latter, the first in time, was Calvinism, of which the headquarters were established at Geneva under the theological and even political dictatorship of John Calvin, a Frenchman from Picardy. The Swiss school of reformers, under the guidance of Zwingli, was more broad-minded and tolerant than any of the other parties; Zwingli held his own views with uncompromising vigour, but he did not hold that uniformity was necessary to unity. Zwingli himself was killed in 1531; but after his death there grew up in Switzerland beside the comparatively charitable school of Zurich the new and intensely rigid school of Geneva. Zurich was separated from the Lutherans almost exclusively on account of the difference of views regarding the Sacrament. Like Wiclif, both rejected the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, but Luther, holding fast by the words 'This is my Body,' maintained the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements; the Zwinglians regarded the words as symbolical and the service as purely commemorative. Calvin rejected the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation but admitted a more mystical element than the Zwinglians. The Swiss teachers were united in a much more

Calvinism.

Luther and the Swiss.

sweeping rejection of ceremonial observances than the Lutherans. But the distinctive characteristic of Calvinism was the extreme emphasis which it laid upon predestination, the view that every person born into the world was ordained before birth to salvation or reprobation. And of hardly less importance was Calvin's development of the system of Church government and discipline, which has for us its most familiar presentment in the Presbyterianism of Scotland. The antagonism between Calvinism and Lutheranism was destined on the Continent to prove the most serious obstacle to Protestant unity and the most valuable ally of the Papalist reaction. The Calvinistic doctrines formulated in Calvin's *Institutes*, published in 1536, were generally adopted by the reformers of France, Scotland, and the Netherlands, and by a minority among the German Protestant princes; but Lutheranism prevailed generally among German Protestants; England pursued a course of its own, differing from that of the Lutherans though approximating more nearly to it, with Zwinglian rather than Calvinistic modifications.

The second movement took place within the papalist ranks, and was initiated by the Spanish knight Inigo Lopes de Recalde, commonly known as Ignatius Loyola. While recovering in 1521, when he was thirty years of age, from a wound received in battle, his spirit was drawn to religion; a soldier by birth and training, he formed the conception of a Christian soldierhood, a company of spiritual warriors not fighting with fleshly arms but trained after the military model. He gathered round him a small group of seven equally ardent enthusiasts, all men of birth, breeding, and culture. In 1534 the seven solemnly vowed themselves to the task they had chosen. They gathered disciples, and in 1543 the Order of Jesus was formally recognised by the Pope. Utter unquestioning obedience was the rule of the order; its first principle was to give its members the highest possible intellectual training in its own schools; and in a few years the Jesuits became one of the most influential organisations known in the world's history.

Ignatius Loyola.

CHAPTER II. HENRY VII., 1485-1509

I. Establishment of the Dynasty

Henry VII. was acclaimed king on Bosworth field, but his actual title[1] to the crown was weaker than that possessed by any king before him, with the sole exception of the usurper whom he had defeated and slain. There was no question at all that, so far as descent from Edward III. was concerned, the house of York was entitled to the throne. On the principle that the crown could descend through the female line to a female, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., was the legitimate queen. If the crown could descend through a female but not to a female—the theory on which Edward III. had claimed the French throne—Elizabeth's cousin Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of George of Clarence and nephew of Edward IV., was the legitimate king; both Elizabeth and Warwick were descended from Lionel of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. If descent was through and to males only, Warwick again was the heir, having unbroken male descent from Edmund of Cambridge, the fourth son of Edward III.; there was no man who could claim unbroken male descent from any other of Edward III.'s sons. While the direct line of Henry IV. was still represented, his descendants could at least claim that their dynasty was established by parliamentary title; but there were no descendants of Henry IV. living. Henry VII. stood as the representative of the house of Lancaster, but there was no conceivable plea on which descent from John of Gaunt, the third son, stood above descent from Lionel of Clarence, the second son, if descent through the female held good. If descent through the female did not hold good, Henry's own claim vanished, because

The Yorkist title.

The Beaufort title.

[1] See Genealogies, I. and II.

it lay through his mother, Margaret Beaufort. To this it has to be added that any claim through a Beaufort was at best dubious, because the Beauforts had only been legitimated by a decree of Richard II.; and even if all these difficulties were evaded, and descent from John of Gaunt ranked before descent from Lionel of Clarence, the offspring of the unquestionably legitimate daughters of John of Gaunt might claim precedence over the questionably legitimate Beauforts. On this basis, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, was the real representative of the house of Lancaster. Finally, it may be observed that Henry was obliged tacitly to ignore the claim of his own mother, Margaret Beaufort, who was now the wife of Lord Stanley. There was, however, no definite precedent recognising the succession of a queen-regnant. The one parallel case was that of the succession of Henry II. in the lifetime of his mother, the Empress Maud.

The solution of the dynastic problem was practical, not logical. Quite definitely, it was Henry who had freed the country from the usurper, Richard III. Quite definitely, he was also, as a matter of fact, accepted by the whole Lancastrian faction. Lancastrian precedent and the precedents down to the thirteenth century recognised an elective element in the monarchy; and the validity of a parliamentary title, as against the rule of primogeniture, would be difficult though not impossible to challenge. A large proportion of the Yorkists would be satisfied if Elizabeth of York became queen by marrying Henry; and if the right of a woman to succeed in person were challenged, yet the right of succession in her sons would be difficult to question. The Lancastrian title, the title by conquest, the parliamentary title, and the title by marriage with Elizabeth, provided all together a cumulative title which could only be questioned on behalf either of Edward, earl of Warwick, or of a resuscitated son of Edward IV.

The title of Henry VII.

Still, the mere fact that Henry's accession was a victory for the Lancastrians made it certain that a section of the Yorkists would endeavour to subvert the new Tudor dynasty upon any colourable pretext. Yorkist disaffection

Centres of disaffection.

was certain to be fostered by Margaret, the dowager-duchess of Burgundy, youngest sister of Edward IV., and in England was likely to centre in the De la Poles, the sons of the duchess of Suffolk, another of the late king's sisters.

The establishment of the dynasty was necessarily Henry's first object, and the first step in that direction was to procure the confirmation of his title by parliament. Parliament, with a judicious avoidance of details, pronounced him legitimate king of England, and declared Richard's supporters to have been guilty of rebellion against their lawful monarch. But there was to be no repetition of the partisan slaughters of the Wars of the Roses. The shedding of blood was impolitic in the eyes of Henry Tudor; it would not have suited him to appear as a tyrant. He made it his unfailing rule to spare the lives of his enemies unless they were really too dangerous to live; but he systematically drew their claws by despoiling them of their estates, whereby he at the same time amassed wealth for the Crown. The country was made partaker in the condemnation of his foes because they were attainted in parliament and condemned by Act of parliament. It was the king's part to modify the sentence at once mercifully and advantageously.

Use of parliament, 1485.

Being established by the Lancastrian title, by title of conquest, and by parliamentary title, Henry could proceed to confirm his position by marrying the Princess Elizabeth in January 1486. The wedding could no longer compromise his own title, while it muzzled legitimate partisans of the house of York. An attempted insurrection on the part of Lord Lovel, one of the partisans of Richard III., was easily suppressed. Warwick was safe in the Tower, and before the year was out the queen had borne a son, Arthur, who now represented both the rival houses.

Marriage, 1486.

Perhaps it was the birth of the heir which incited the extreme Yorkists to make an attempt upon the throne almost immediately afterwards. It was suddenly announced that the rightful king, Edward of Warwick, was not in the Tower but in Ireland. Ireland had always supported the

Lambert Simnel, 1487.

Yorkists, and the pretender was unhesitatingly accepted by half the Irish nobles. The real Warwick was paraded through the streets of London, but the extreme Yorkists professed belief in the sham Warwick, a baker's boy named Lambert Simnel, who had been carefully coached in the part. Margaret of Burgundy sent a troop of German mercenaries to Ireland under the command of Martin Schwartz to support his claim. John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, whom Richard had designated his heir-presumptive, declared for the pretender. Presumably the idea was that Henry was to be overthrown in the name of the pseudo-Warwick. Whether it was Lincoln's intention to recognise the real earl when the victory was won, or to assert his own claim on the old plea that the attainder of George of Clarence barred his son from the succession, is an unanswerable question. Simnel landed in England with the German mercenaries and a large Irish contingent; he was joined by Lincoln, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Henry at Stoke. Lincoln was killed, the Germans were cut to pieces, and the prisoners were treated in accordance with Henry's principle of leniency. Simnel was appropriately assigned to a post in the royal kitchens. Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy or acting governor of Ireland, was not even removed from his office, though his complicity in the rebellion was beyond question. After the summer of 1487 it did not at first appear probable that the Yorkists would find any instrument for attacking the Tudor dynasty. For some years foreign affairs occupied Henry's attention.

Louis XI. had carried the consolidation of France so far that Brittany alone among the great fiefs was still in any degree independent of the Crown. His daughter, Anne of Beaujeu, as regent for her young brother, Charles VIII., was anxious to bring the duchy under control. The Austrian Maximilian, 'king of the Romans,' heir of the Emperor Frederick and father of the child duke, Philip of Burgundy, did not welcome any increase in the power of France, and intended to have for his second wife the young heiress of Brittany, Anne. In Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella likewise objected to an increase in the power of France, and wanted to get back into their own

France and Brittany.

hands the border districts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which were held in pledge by France. Henry in his exile had been under great obligations both to Brittany and France, and might have preferred to preserve neutrality; but from an English point of view the absorption of the duchy by France was undesirable. Friendly relations with Maximilian were desirable on account of the Burgundian connection, and it appeared probable that an alliance with Spain might be extremely useful as a check on France. In the course of 1488 Henry was still ostensibly neutral so far as concerned France and Brittany, but was actually concerting alliance with Spain and with Maximilian.

Henry, Ferdinand, and Maximilian.

The relations of these monarchs provide a curious study. In craft and skill Maximilian was by no means a match for the other two, but in the ingenuity of his ambitions and in the shiftiness of his methods he was their equal. He was perfectly unscrupulous in breaking away from a bargain. Ferdinand and Henry, however, were equally matched. Each knew that he needed the other, their interests were closely bound up together, but each made it his primary object to throw upon the other the real burden of achieving the ends in view; each wished to preserve a plausible appearance of honesty in cheating the other; neither had the slightest objection to the other's attempts to cheat him—cheating was quite in accordance with the rules of the game as they played it. They were quite shameless in the matter. Ferdinand felt himself actually insulted when he was accused of having 'once' cheated an antagonist; he denied the allegation with scorn, because he had cheated the adversary not once but twice.

A Spanish treaty, 1489.

In Henry's early years, however, Ferdinand held the stronger hand; the need of the English king was the greater. Although throughout 1488 he had persisted in expressions of benevolence to France, and had repudiated all responsibility for an English expedition under Edward Woodville which went over to help the duke of Brittany against the French Crown, he found himself compelled, in order to satisfy the Spaniards, to promise active hostility to France. By the Treaty of Medina del Campo the infant Prince of Wales was to be

betrothed to Katharine of Aragon, a younger daughter of the Spanish monarchs. If either country should be drawn into war with France the other was to support her; Spain might retire if she recovered Roussillon and Cerdagne, or England in the much less probable event of her recovering Guienne. Spain, with the Moorish war on her hands, was not at all likely to take effective part in operations in France; England would not find so simple an excuse.

Before this the duke of Brittany had died and the little duchess was in the hands of a guardian; Henry had made a defensive alliance with Maximilian and another with Brittany. The policy of a French war was approved by English sentiment, and parliament, after due consideration, granted a substantial subsidy, though only a small portion of it was ever collected. Henry never intended serious fighting; he wanted to embarrass France, to make an ostentatious display of loyalty to his Spanish allies, to beguile his own subjects into a belief that great things were to be wrought against the ancient enemy, and finally to get as much money and spend as little as he could.

Playing at war, 1489-91.

By the treaty with Brittany, Henry was in occupation of certain Breton towns which he had no intention of evacuating without receiving satisfactory indemnity; otherwise it was his cue to say much and do little. By July 1489 Maximilian had made a treaty of his own with France, in spite of his treaty with Henry. But no progress was made on either side; and after another year Maximilian had reverted to the English alliance. At the end of 1490 he married the young duchess by proxy, never having even seen her; but he did nothing to help the Breton cause in Brittany. The Spaniards continued to do nothing, having Granada as their excuse. But while Henry was apparently being left in the lurch with heavy obligations on his hands, he turned the position to account by procuring fresh subsidies from his subjects, and appealing to them for benevolences; still, however, there was very little expenditure of either blood or treasure. The French arms progressed in Brittany, and in 1491 the young king of France found a solution of the Breton problem for him-

self by marrying the Duchess Anne after procuring the necessary dispensations from the Pope. Brittany became an appanage of the French Crown.

The situation demanded artistic manipulation; but Henry was equal to it. For the benefit of his English subjects he maintained the theory of the right of England to the crown of France, and made a great show of warlike preparations on a large scale; but he merely wished to be bought out of Brittany on his own terms. The absorption of the duchy was, in fact, a *fait accompli*, but Henry had never really wished to do more than use his position there as a diplomatic asset. It was a valuable asset, because the young king of France, who had now assumed the reins of authority himself, was eager to assert his claim to Naples as the representative of the house of Anjou; and in order to get a free hand in Italy he was willing to pay a considerable price for peace with his Spanish and English neighbours. It was Henry's part to work up his own price to the highest possible point, to demonstrate, to threaten, to worry Charles into buying him out. He even went so far as to lay siege to Boulogne in person, undeterred by the countenance which the French court was lending to a new pretender to the English throne. Before the end of 1492 Charles had accepted Henry's terms. The English king was to evacuate the towns he held in Brittany and to withdraw his troops from French soil; Charles was to pay up all the indemnities claimed and the 'tribute' with which his father had bought off Edward IV. Also he was to dismiss the Yorkist pretender from France. The peace of Étaples (December 1492) relieved Henry from any fear of French support for English intriguers; he had lost nothing on which he set any value; he had filled his treasury instead of emptying it; he had not emulated the example of Henry V., but had considerably improved upon that of his Yorkist predecessors; and he had thoroughly established at the Spanish court a character for diplomatic astuteness which ensured him the sincere respect of Ferdinand and Isabella, who made their own terms with the French king. Maximilian, indeed, was extremely indignant at

Henry's diplomacy, 1491-2.

The peace of Étaples, 1492.

being deserted, but from the impecunious King of the Romans there was nothing more serious to fear than his hostile influence with the court of Burgundy.

The new pretender, whose earlier appearance on the scene might have caused much trouble, was Perkin Warbeck. According to his own subsequent confession he was the son of a boatman of Tournay. In 1491 he went to Cork in the service of a Breton merchant. He was of personable appearance, and bore a strong resemblance to the Plantagenets. The people at Cork insisted that he must be a Plantagenet, whereupon he owned that he was Richard of York, the younger of the two princes who were supposed to have been murdered in the Tower by Richard III. The story was accepted with avidity. A Yorkist impostor was safe enough in Ireland where Henry seems to have paid little attention to his proceedings. In 1492 the young man was intriguing with the Scots and with Margaret of Burgundy, and was received by Charles VIII. in France. Thence he was expelled by the Treaty of Étaples, whereupon he betook himself to Burgundy, to the separate independent court of the dowager-duchess, over which young duke Philip professed that he had no control. There he was thoroughly educated to act up to the rôle in which he had appeared—unless we are to accept the just conceivable but exceedingly improbable hypothesis that he was the real Richard of York. This hypothesis would involve that a substitute for the boy had been smuggled into the Tower and murdered in his place, while the boy himself had been smuggled out and kept in concealment for eight years even while Yorkist partisans were trying to put his cousin of Warwick on the throne. The real Richard, of course, if alive, would have been beyond any possible question the legitimate king of England.

Perkin Warbeck, 1491-5.

While Perkin was being educated in Burgundy, Charles VIII., in 1493, made his peace both with the Spaniards and with Maximilian; in 1494 he invaded Italy, obtained passage through the northern states, and with great ease captured Naples, where he was crowned in February 1495, the Aragonese occupants of the throne taking flight before him. Ferdinand and Maximilian, who now called himself

Charles VIII. in Italy, 1494-5.

emperor, had not anticipated such easy success; they took alarm and became anxious to form a powerful league against French aggression. Maximilian had not forgiven Henry for the peace of Étaples, and was giving his countenance to the pretender in Burgundy; but the Spanish monarchs were extremely desirous of drawing Henry into the anti-French league. Henry in the interval had been quietly strengthening his own position. Kept thoroughly informed of the intrigues which were being woven at the court of Margaret of Burgundy, he had given no sign till the moment was ripe for striking, when the unsuspecting conspirators in England were arrested and put to death. The most notable among them was Sir William Stanley, who had played a double game at Bosworth, and was supposed to be one of Henry's most influential and trusted supporters. Meantime Burgundy was being taught the unwisdom of fostering the king's enemies by a commercial war which deprived her of the English wool on which the manufacturing activities of the Netherlands were dependent. England suffered, but the Netherlands suffered far more severely, and the cause of Perkin Warbeck became unpopular in those regions. In Ireland Henry pursued his policy of conciliation, deliberately overlooking the support which the pretender had received from the Irish magnates; though he found it necessary to suspend Kildare from the deputyship. To that office he appointed a capable Englishman, Sir Edward Poynings, whose brief tenure of the deputyship was signalised by the passing of Poynings' Law, which embodied the principles of the government of Ireland for three centuries to come. The powers of the Irish legislature were restricted to the passing, without change, of laws submitted to it in a shape sanctioned by the Privy Council in England. The statute was passed in the last month of 1494. A little more than a year later, Kildare was restored to the deputyship, and showed no further inclination to disloyalty.

Henry's management.

Poynings in Ireland.

In 1495, then, Ireland was under control, Perkin's supporters in England had received a sharp lesson, and Perkin's own position in the Netherlands was becoming untenable. In the summer the pretender sailed for England, but when his expedition landed in

Kent it was soundly beaten by the local levies, and a severity unusual for Henry was displayed to the rebels who were captured. Perkin himself had not come ashore. He made for Ireland, where Desmond rose on his behalf in the south, but the insurrection was promptly suppressed by Poynings, and the pretender betook himself to Scotland. There the young king, James IV., chose to believe in him, and to bestow on him a kinswoman of his own in marriage. But the completeness of Warbeck's failure hitherto enabled Henry to enter the anti-French league on his own terms. He would not attack France except at his own convenience, and Maximilian was definitely to repudiate Warbeck. The embargo upon the Netherlands trade had already been removed by the treaty known as the *Intercursus Magnus*. The breach in commercial intercourse had been serviceable to England only as a means to a political end.

Perkin's movements, 1495-6.

In the autumn of 1496 the king of Scots raided the north of England on Perkin's behalf, but he merely provided Henry with an effective excuse for abstaining from active measures against France, and for levying a tax for the defence of the country. The tax annoyed the Cornishmen, who did not feel themselves in need of protection against Scottish invaders. They rose in insurrection and marched up towards London with the time-honoured demand for 'the removal of the king's evil counsellors.' They got as far as Blackheath, but the Kent men did not join them as they had anticipated. On the other hand the king's forces surrounded them at Blackheath, pounded them with cannon, and broke them up completely. Only three ringleaders were put to death; the rest were pardoned and allowed to go home. Under the mistaken impression that Henry's leniency was due to weakness, they determined upon a fresh revolt.

1496. The Cornish rising.

Warbeck had withdrawn to Ireland from Scotland, where the impulsive James was losing his first enthusiasm. Even in Ireland the atmosphere had turned chilly, and Perkin readily accepted an invitation to raise his standard in Cornwall. Failure as usual dogged his steps. He reached Cornwall, but the numbers that joined him were small. He marched upon Exeter, where neither

persuasion nor force procured him admittance. He went on to Taunton and then threw up the game, deserting his followers and taking sanctuary at Beaulieu. At Beaulieu he surrendered himself to the king's mercy. James had, after all, made a diversion in the north, but without accomplishing anything, and when Perkin was captured, a treaty of peace was entered upon between England and Scotland.

Perkin captured.

As usual Henry was not vindictive, but punished Perkin's supporters by confiscations. The pretender was compelled publicly to read a confession which may have been genuine, or may have been dictated to him. This was done first at Exeter, and then at Westminster, after which he was for some time placed in a by no means close confinement. In the course of the next year, 1498, the young man was foolish enough to try to make his escape; whereupon he was set in the stocks, again compelled to read his confession at London and Westminster, and was then relegated to the Tower, where the unlucky Warwick was also confined. In 1499 these two possible pretenders were induced to concoct a plot of some sort, which resulted in their both being sent to the block. It appeared that Henry's nerve had been shaken by the production of yet another pretender masquerading as Warwick, by name Ralph Wilford, and Warwick suffered for being his father's son. Before the last year of the century opened there were no pretenders left in England, the relations with Scotland were as friendly as could ever be expected, and Charles of France had not only evacuated Naples, but had died. His successor on the throne was his cousin Louis XII., who had been most active among the nobility in his resistance to the centralising force of the Crown.

1499. Execution of Warwick and Warbeck.

Henry was now secure upon his throne, though the security had been finally achieved by the deliberate destruction of the personally harmless Warwick; the plot for which he had suffered had without much doubt been arranged precisely with that object. Apart from the accumulation of money, the great objects with the king were now the marriage of his son to Katharine of Aragon and the marriage of his daughter

Henry's position secure.

to the king of Scots. Negotiations for the settlement of border disputes gave the king of England his opening in 1499 for mooting the Scottish marriage. A treaty was made, and was finally concluded in 1502, under which James, who was about thirty, was to marry Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, who was in her twelfth year. Henry had no qualms as to the possibility that some day a Scottish king might be heir to the English throne. A union was in itself desirable, and there was no fear of England taking a place subordinate to the smaller and poorer northern kingdom. The marriage took place in 1503, precisely one hundred years before Margaret's great-grandson ascended the throne of England.

The Scottish marriage, 1503.

Among the innumerable marriage projects with which the closing years of the reign were crowded, the most important were those concerned with Katharine of Aragon. Her betrothal to Prince Arthur was more than once ratified, the ceremony of marriage by proxy was more than once gone through, and there had been long and troublesome hagglings over the princess's marriage portion, before the actual nuptials took place in 1501. Six months later Katharine was a widow. Then came fresh hagglings about the dowry. Henry wanted the balance paid up, Ferdinand wanted what had been paid to be restored. A solution was found in the proposal that the widow should in course of time marry the English prince Henry, who by his brother's death had become heir-apparent. The Church forbade marriage with a brother's widow, but a papal dispensation was obtainable, especially as it was asserted that the marriage had been one in name only. The dispensation was granted in 1504 by Pope Julius II., who had just succeeded Alexander VI. The marriage, however, was deferred for five years.

The Spanish marriage, 1501.

During several years there was a slight troubling of the waters by Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the brother of John, earl of Lincoln, who had been killed at Stoke. Such claims as Lincoln had possessed had devolved upon Suffolk, who intrigued at home and tried to obtain support from foreign princes, especially Maximilian, though without any material

Suffolk.

success. Various changes in continental affairs were produced by successive deaths. The accession of Louis XII. of France was followed by his assertion of a claim to the duchy of Milan, not in his character as king of France or representative of the house of Anjou, like his late cousin Charles, but in virtue of his descent in legitimate line from the Visconti. Then in 1504 Isabella of Spain died. The crowns of Aragon and Castile had been united because the queen of Castile was married to the king of Aragon; but when the queen died the crown of Castile went not to her husband but to her daughter Joanna, the wife of Philip of Burgundy. As a matter of course, it became a primary object with Ferdinand to keep the effective control of Castile in his own hands, a view not accepted by Philip or Philip's father, Maximilian. Two years later Philip himself died, leaving his indubitably crazy widow Joanna as formal queen of Castile, and his six-year-old son Charles as actual duke of Burgundy and prospective king both of Castile and of Aragon. The child's two grandfathers were constantly engaged in a rivalry for ascendency in the grandson's dominions, since the unhappy mother did not count; the acuteness of the rivalry was only modified by the obvious gravitation of Burgundy to Maximilian and of Castile to Ferdinand. It must be remarked further that there was another development of the antagonism between Aragon and France, since Ferdinand, who claimed to take the place of the illegitimate branch of his house, which had occupied the throne of Naples, succeeded in ejecting the French and attaching Naples as well as Sicily to the crown of Aragon.

Louis XII.

Spain.

The diplomacy of all these years was singularly sordid and barren. One stroke of luck came in the way of Henry VII. Philip of Burgundy in the last year of his life was sailing from the Netherlands to attend to his interests in Castile when stress of weather drove him ashore in England. Henry received him with every display of hospitality; but in effect the duke was in the king's power, and the king extracted from him a treaty very much to his own advantage. The troublesome Suffolk was in Philip's hands, and Philip was obliged to surrender him and also to enter upon a league of mutual defence.

Philip of Burgundy, 1506.

But, beyond this, he was forced to accept a commercial treaty so entirely in the interests of England and so ruinous to Flanders that it became known as the *Intercursus Malus*, by way of contrast with the *Intercursus Magnus* of 1496.

Successive projects of marriage for Henry VII. himself, who had lost his wife a few months after the death of Prince Arthur in 1502, are a prominent and unpleasant feature of Henry's latter days. None of the projects materialised. Among the brides whom he contemplated were the mad Joanna of Castile; his own daughter-in-law, Katharine of Aragon; and Margaret of Savoy, the sister of Philip of Burgundy, who was at the head of the Burgundian council of regency after Philip's death. For fifteen years of his reign Henry had displayed keen political foresight and much diplomatic skill, not always of the most scrupulous order, but at its worst excusable in view of the unscrupulousness of those with whom he had to deal. If he had died in 1499 his reputation would have lived as that of an exceptionally shrewd ruler, who in an extremely difficult position restored the international prestige of England and re-established domestic order by a judicious combination of vigour and clemency.

Various marriage projects.

But after 1499, the year in which he broke through his conscientious scruples and wrought the death of Warwick, he degenerated morally and intellectually. The influences which had best helped him were removed by the deaths of his ministers, Reginald Bray and Cardinal Morton; of his eldest son, to whom he was devoted; and of his wife. His later years were sordid and mean; at home he became extortionate, and abroad his craft did not suffice to preserve his influence. In 1508 Louis of France, Ferdinand of Aragon, Maximilian, and Pope Julius II. entered upon the unholy League of Cambrai for the dismemberment of Venice, without a thought of the king of England. Yet when he died in 1509 Henry had accomplished for England a work of no small value.

The end of Henry VII., 1509.

II. The Crown and the People

The accession of Henry VII. introduced no formal change in the constitution under which England was governed. No new rights were recognised as belonging to any person or group of persons in the State; no recognised rights were abolished. Nevertheless, the first Tudor established for his dynasty an absolutism such as no previous monarchy seemed to have exercised since the days of Henry II., except for a few months under Richard II. The Crown, in other words, did in fact though not in form acquire unprecedented powers. Henry's son and granddaughter appeared to exercise an arbitrary authority, which blinded their Stuart successors to the conditions upon which that authority rested and confirmed them in their theory that it was inherent in the crown of England. The present volume will set forth the history of the Tudor monarchy and of the prolonged contest under the Stuarts between Crown and Parliament which ended in the decisive establishment of parliament as wielding the supreme power. It will be well, therefore, at this early stage to examine the state of the constitution as the first king of the Tudor dynasty found it and left it.

The Tudor absolutism.

Quite definitely the government of the country was not in any accurate sense of the term an absolute monarchy. The powers of the Crown were limited. It could make no laws, it could repeal no statutes, it could impose no taxes except by consent of parliament, save customary duties at the ports to which it was entitled, but which it had no power to modify without parliamentary authority. But at the beginning of each reign throughout the Tudor period parliament authorised the king to exact for life the dues called tonnage and poundage, a *pro rata* tax upon every ton and every pound of goods imported. This had been previously conferred upon Henry V., upon Henry VI. at a late period of his reign, and upon the Yorkist kings. Even benevolences, the exaction of gifts by way of goodwill, not only had no sanction of law, but were formally and expressly condemned as contrary to the law by a

1485. Limitations: as to taxation,

statute of Richard III. Further, a series of statutes had laid it down that no one might be imprisoned or otherwise punished without undergoing trial by due process of law, and the peers in case of charges of felony or treason had the right of trial by their peers, members of their own order. The ordinary law could be set aside only in two ways: by attainder for treason in parliament, and by the customary jurisdiction of the Privy Council, which had no statutory sanction, but was recognised in practice as necessary for dealing with special cases, in which bribery or terrorism was likely to deflect the course of justice in the ordinary courts.

right of fair trial,

Parliament, however, had no control over policy except in so far as the power of the purse gave it such control. The king's personal revenues, derived from the estates of the Crown, from feudal dues, from legalised customs, and from established fees and fines, did not suffice for the necessary national expenditure. Unless additional sources of revenue were discovered the Crown was under the constant necessity of obtaining supplies from parliament; and so long as this was the case parliament could append conditions to the granting of supplies.

supply,

The ultimate sanction of any government is its control over a force, material or moral, sufficient to coerce disobedience or defiance. Disobedience or defiance, when backed by public opinion, had always proved too strong for the Crown, which was no less assured of victory when public opinion was behind it. But public opinion was a fluctuating term, apt to mean the opinion of the bulk of the magnates acting in concert. The baronage, when tolerably united, had been able to apply coercive force, and latterly the accumulation of vast estates in the hands of a few families had threatened to displace the power of the Crown by that of an oligarchy; a danger which had been greatly reduced by the decimation of the great families in the Wars of the Roses, which had at the same time weakened what had been the most effective counterpoise to the development of the power of the Crown, apart from the Commons' power of withholding supplies.

and control of force.

Now the long misgovernment for fifty years had made it essen-

tial that a strong central government should be able to re-establish order, to restore a sense of security, and to compel obedience. This was possible only by concentrating power in the hands of the king, and by doing so without any show of tyrannical usurpation, which would in itself have been an incitement to revolt against the new dynasty. For attaining this end two conditions were necessary: the treasury must be filled, and the power of self-assertion against the Crown by the baronage, individually and collectively, must be still further reduced till it ceased to be an effective danger. A full treasury meant independence of parliament, and a depressed baronage meant freedom from fear of revolt. But the final security would still lie in the preservation of general loyalty by a watchful attention to popular sentiment.

New concentration of powers.

Whatever divinity may hedge a king, two only among the five Tudors ruled in virtue of an unquestionable legitimist title. At least after Warwick's death there was no sort of possibility of disputing the rights of the son of Elizabeth of York, nor was there any sort of question that Edward VI. was the legitimate heir of Henry VIII. Neither the father nor the daughters of Henry VIII. could claim such a title by birth. It was certainly impossible to regard *both* Mary and Elizabeth as legitimate, and the legal tribunals of the country pronounced both of them to be illegitimate. And if they could not dwell upon theories of Divine right, Henry VII. was in the same position. His title, at its very best, rested upon the legitimation by royal decree of the illegitimate children of John of Gaunt. It was impossible for the first Tudor to escape from the theory that the succession to the crown lay within the control of parliament. As much as the Lancastrians, he was bound to show deference to parliament, at least until his treasury had become completely independent of parliamentary grants.

Parliament.

Edward IV. for twelve years of his reign had managed very nearly to dispense with parliaments altogether. He had shown Henry the way, which the cautious Tudor was not at first ready to follow. Henry began with a somewhat ostentatious reliance on parliaments, from which he obtained

Henry filled his treasury.

grants, while he successfully avoided spending them. The parliament followed precedent in passing sweeping acts of attainder; Henry made political capital out of his own mitigation of the penalties, but gathered wealth for the Crown by the attendant confiscations. He made war upon France with great flourish of trumpets, which pleased his bellicose subjects; but he pocketed the money they provided, and then procured from the adversary solid indemnities as conditions of peace. He even procured from parliament a formal condonation of his exaction of benevolences for war purposes in despite of the statute of Richard III. Parliament pronounced that the money promised was recoverable at law. All grants which the law warranted him in resuming he resumed; every fine which the law warranted him in imposing he imposed—with the greater avidity when he could thereby impoverish a wealthy noble. For all these methods of raising money precedent could be found in the reign of Edward IV.; but Henry carried them out with an unparalleled thoroughness. Not least effective was the rigour with which he applied the statutes concerning maintenance and livery. Maintenance was the custom by which for more than a century magnates had 'maintained' the causes of their clients in the law courts, by bringing numbers of retainers, in effect, to overawe juries and judges. Livery was the custom by which the magnates kept large numbers of retainers wearing their livery, who were readily convertible into troops whenever occasion arose, and who in time of peace enforced their lord's will and their own upon their neighbours in despite of the law. In the name of the law Henry exacted immense fines from the magnates who persisted in these practices. Thus in thirteen years Henry had brought into his own hands such wide estates by resumptions and confiscations, and had so filled his treasury by economies in expenditure, by fines, and by French indemnities, that in the last ten years of his reign he called only one parliament, and yet left his son such an accumulation of treasure as even his extravagance required many years to dissipate. And all this was done with very little taxing of the commons of England.

Maintenance and livery.

But it was done at the expense of the nobility, to which the

commons of England had no objection. The standard number of the lay peers of parliament during the last half century had been something under fifty; even that number had been maintained only by the creation of new peerages, and on Henry VII.'s accession there were only some five-and-thirty lay peers, including minors. The number had been reduced thus low partly by such accumulations in a few hands, through marriages, as had made the house of Neville so mighty. Then the scions of the great houses had been killed off and the accumulated estates broken up; there remained hardly a name which had been prominent among the baronage before the days of Richard II. The old aristocracy had been shattered, and the new aristocracy were men of smaller estate, whose numbers were easily enlarged by royal favour, while every increase increased at the same time the subserviency of the body of the peers to the Crown. In these circumstances it was all the easier for the king to deprive the great lay magnates of their old dominance in the council and their old claims to hold the high offices of state. Nearly all Henry's great ministers, Morton, Fox, and Warham, were ecclesiastics; none were great nobles. When Henry VII. died, the premier noble in the country was the duke of Buckingham,[1] son of the man who had raised Richard III. to the throne and had paid for doing so with his head. But the only one who had achieved any real distinction was Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, son of the newly created duke of Norfolk, who had fallen by Richard's side at Bosworth; and Surrey was a soldier with much of the old chivalrous quality, but not of the type which would head an opposition to the Crown.

Depression of the nobles.

Two specific measures were passed by parliament really, if not ostensibly, intended to strengthen the Crown. After Henry had already exacted the full measure of such vengeance as he thought it politic to take upon the supporters of Richard, and just at the time when it seemed possible that Perkin Warbeck might prove dangerous, it was enacted that to obey and to support the *de facto* monarch, even if he were not monarch *de jure*, was not treason, and could not be

Supporting the king de facto.

[1] See Genealogical Tables I. and VIII.

treated as treason if that monarch or his heirs were displaced by another. The intention was clearly to give a legal security to every one who supported Henry VII., in case by any untoward accident a pretender should succeed in dethroning him. It has been suggested that the proposal to make Cromwell king a century and a half afterwards was inspired by the wish to give legal security to his supporters in the event of a Stuart restoration.

The second measure was the Act constituting the court which became subsequently known as the Star Chamber. The intention was to give statutory form to powers customarily exercised without statutory authority by the Privy Council. In effect, it gave a group of specified officers of the Crown, with a limited number of discretionary coadjutors, power to try and to punish certain specified offences, of a kind with which the ordinary courts found it difficult or dangerous to deal. It was a court which could neither be bribed nor intimidated, the purpose of which was to prevent the perversion of justice by bribery or intimidation, the means whereby the magnates had frequently in the past been able to ride rough-shod over the law. Two exceptional features have to be noted: it was allowed to employ torture, or did employ torture, contrary to the practice of all the regular courts; and it could not, or did not, apply the death penalty. During the Tudor period the court was never denounced as unconstitutional, and its operation tended to strengthen the administration of justice. A different view was taken of its development in the time of the Stuarts.

Star Chamber.

The repression of the baronage tended still further to diminish the distinction, never very strongly marked, between nobility and gentry. But Henry also saw his own and the Crown's advantage in developing the wealth of another class of commoners, who had no aristocratic proclivities and whose interests were emphatically bound up with the preservation of peace and order. Herein lay one of his strongest motives for making commercial development a leading feature of his policy, a prominent characteristic of his reign, and ultimately the keynote of British expansion.

The commercial class.

The maritime expansion of England may be said to have begun in the fifteenth century with the charter granted to the Merchant Adventurers by Henry IV. The formation of this great trading association marked the changed spirit of commercial enterprise. The English merchant, instead of being content to permit the foreigner to come to England to buy English goods and to bring his goods to England for sale, was endeavouring to push his way into continental markets. The individual was not strong enough to achieve an entry; the only method possible was by the formation of a company with a charter—that is, a legalised monopoly and legalised powers of self-government. Membership of the association was open on payment of reasonable fees; all members had to obey the regulations, and only to members was the protection of the law extended. The Merchant Adventurers sent their ships to the Baltic, and gradually effected an entry even into the Mediterranean. But throughout the Middle Ages the admission of the foreigner to trade was always looked upon as a privilege, for which he must pay a substantial price, not as a desirable method of expanding markets and developing wealth. The right of entry could only be acquired by treaties and agreements, difficult to obtain and difficult to enforce when obtained. Henry VII. made it a definite political object to procure and protect the entry of English traders into foreign markets by means of commercial treaties, because the wealth of the mercantile community would be thereby increased. The king realised, perhaps more completely than any of his predecessors, that the development of the material wealth of the country was an end worth striving for, even apart from the direct contributions to the royal treasury derivable therefrom. Thus the treaty of 1496, called *Intercursus Magnus*, gave a great impulse to the trade in the Low Countries; another treaty with Denmark and another with the Hanseatic port of Riga extended the trade in the Baltic; and the Venetians were forced to submit to the transference of a portion of their carrying trade to the English.

The Merchant Adventurers.

Commercial treaties.

The idea of Free Trade, of unfettered competition, was not yet

born. The characteristic of Henry's commercial policy was his employment of the method of retaliation. Retaliation is essentially the application to commerce of the principles of war. It is a trial of strength. Precisely like war, it is in itself extremely injurious to both parties concerned; both must suffer immediately. But if one party suffers very much more than the other, the weaker must in the end concede the terms of the stronger to save itself from extinction. The notable fact is that England had become commercially strong enough to take the risks of commercial wars. The most notable instance is that which preceded the *Intercursus Magnus*. It was undertaken not for commercial but for political purposes, because of the countenance given by Burgundy to Perkin Warbeck. It was a war by which English trade suffered very materially for the time; but the Flemings suffered so much more, from being unable to procure their raw material, than the English suffered from the curtailment of their wool market, that in the end a treaty highly favourable to English commerce was obtained in addition to the achievement of the political object. In like manner with Venice, the English merchants cut into the Venetian carrying trade by offering lower rates. The Venetians responded by imposing an export duty on wines, the principal article concerned, if embarked in foreign bottoms. The English retaliated by imposing a corresponding duty on wines imported by the Venetians, as well as by a treaty with Florence constituting that city the authorised mart for English goods. The resulting loss of trade was more injurious to the Venetians than to the English, and Venice was obliged to give way. This affords also an example of the renewal of the Navigation Acts, which had been in effect a dead letter until the English marine had reached an adequate stage of development. It was still the case that a rigorous application of the principle that only English ships and the ships of the exporting country were to bring goods to England would have gone near to killing the foreign trade of England altogether; but England was just becoming strong enough to practise the principle within limits; and within limits it was adopted, not so much for the sake of capturing the carrying

Commercial wars.

Navigation Acts.

trade itself, as in order to foster English shipping and to create a fleet of greater military efficiency.

In this period also were emerging the economic ideas which are known as the mercantile theory. The fundamental conception was that it was the business of the State to regulate trade with a view to the increase of national power. The modern Free Trade doctrine, dating from the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* towards the end of the eighteenth century, bases national power upon national wealth; it claims that the maximum of wealth is to be obtained by unfettered individual competition, and that consequently the fettering of individual competition by State restriction is in itself injurious. But the mercantilists were not satisfied with the indirect production of power as the necessary result of wealth; they wanted trade to be guided to the direct production of power. The country must itself produce enough for its own requirements without depending on exchange. It must artificially foster the employments which tended to produce a vigorous fighting stock. It must artificially foster maritime expansion in order to control the seas in time of war. And, above all, it must artificially secure the accumulation of treasure. The precious metals were not merely a medium of exchange, nor was it recognised that their inflow would be automatically accommodated to their outflow. The country which accumulated gold and silver was stronger than the country which was short of gold and silver, however much wealth of other kinds it might possess; therefore a trade which carried gold and silver out of the country in exchange for goods was bad, and a trade which took goods out of the country in exchange for gold and silver was good. Therefore commercial intercourse was only to be encouraged with those countries which wanted to buy from England more than they could sell to England; and it became a direct object of policy to secure what was called the 'balance of trade,' the trade which brought in more treasure and less goods than it exported. These remained the governing principles of the commercial policy of the State until the days of the younger Pitt. Early mediævalism had assumed the principle that our

The mercantile theory.

neighbour's prosperity is our own undoing, with such completeness that every locality was jealous of the prosperity of every other locality. This form of particularism had passed away *within* the country since Edward I. had taught it that the prosperity of the parts was best attained by the prosperity of the whole; but England did not, any more than any other country, proceed to the conclusion that the country benefits by the prosperity of its neighbours.

While Henry made it his business to foster commerce, he dropped the active encouragement of exploration when he had come to the conclusion that the northern regions, to which English voyages were perforce directed, did not promise to prove profitable. Still, it is interesting to note that a Spanish map of the time recognises the northern region of America, discovered by the Cabots, as English, although no further effort was made at effective occupation. On the other hand, the encouragement of trade with Europe was by no means merely a bid for the support of the wealthy trading companies. An attempt of the Merchant Adventurers to make themselves a close body by the imposition of excessive fees as a condition of entry was repressed; and the association received practical warning that the State would sanction no regulations which were contrary to public policy. Henry and his parliament had no intention of creating a limited mercantile plutocracy, which might make itself as troublesome as the old aristocracy of birth.

Exploration.

Apart from the activities of the State, the period is marked by economic developments in two directions. The fifteenth century had witnessed a constant growth of capitalism in the industrial world; a growing distinction, that is to say, between an employing capitalist class and an employed wage-earning class. It was increasingly difficult for any man to set up in business on his own account. At an earlier stage a man had required little more than his tools and enough savings to pay his fees for admission into the gild merchant; he kept no stock, and made up goods to order from materials provided by the customer. But by the fifteenth century it had become necessary for him to provide his own materials and to keep a stock of

Capitalism.

goods for sale in order to obtain custom. The fee required to admit a man a freeman of the gild merchant or of a craft gild had not been prohibitive; but in the fifteenth century every gild was trying to make itself a close body, with heavy fees for the admission of new members who did not belong to the established families. Thus it was increasingly difficult to pass from the ranks of the journeymen into the ranks of the masters. A counter-movement against the exclusiveness and the strict regulations of the craft gilds carried the expanding cloth-making industries out of reach of their control into the unchartered towns; which, again, would have been impossible in the earlier days, when the strict supervision by the gilds was necessary to the security both of producer and consumer. But in the new industries also it was not an easy matter to set up business without capital because of the necessary large expenditure in providing stock, the need of locking up money; and the average journeyman had to look forward to spending his days as a journeyman without achieving the position of a master.

Agriculture.

The second field of development was that of agriculture, where the appropriateness of the term development may perhaps be challenged. For a hundred years before the accession of Henry VII. landowners had been turning their attention to wool-growing. This had been due in the first instance to the shortage of labour for tillage, and the diminution in the actual amount of food-stuffs required for consumption, consequent upon the Black Death. A considerable amount of land was necessarily thrown out of cultivation, and the landowners began to turn it to account as grazing land. Simultaneously there arose an increasing demand for wool, as Englishmen more and more took up the woollen manufacture. The landowners found pasturage highly profitable, and began to appropriate for pasture not only the land which had been thrown out of cultivation but the land which was under the plough, since the relative profits of tillage were small; a fact illustrated by the victory of agricultural protection in the reign of Edward IV. Hitherto the inclination of the State had been rather to recognise the interests of the consumer; Edward's prohibition of the admis-

sion of foreign corn when the home price at the port of debarkation was less than six shillings and eightpence, or half a mark, was probably intended not so much to guarantee the landowner a 'reasonable' profit as to ensure him a profit sufficient to keep his land under the plough instead of under grass, to check the conversion of tillage into pasture.

For by the accession of Henry VII. that conversion had become an immediately pressing evil, with which for three-quarters of a century legislation was to make vain efforts to deal. **Enclosure.** A high standard of public spirit was needed to dissuade the landowner from seeking the large profits of wool-growing, on the ground that corn-growing was more advantageous to the community. The first great period of enclosures had set in; in the eyes of moralists an iniquity, in the eyes of statesmen a danger, but in the eyes of the economist the inevitable outcome of economic law no less than the economic upheaval which had culminated in Wat Tyler's revolt. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth was well advanced that the population had adapted itself to the new conditions, and the amount of the rural population and the rural employment were mutually adjusted. The mere process of the conversion of arable into pasture involved a large displacement of labour, because the number of hands employed was very much less in proportion to the acreage. In modern times even large displacements of labour, in an industrial community such as England now is, are usually remedied within a short time by the fluidity of labour, its capacity for being absorbed into new industries. But the old England was not an industrial community; the mass of agricultural labour thrown out of employment, a mass perpetually increasing, could find nothing else to which to turn its hand; the urban industries persistently endeavoured to preserve a ring fence, to exclude new competitors from the field, and the labourer was further hampered by the difficulty of migration. The supply of agricultural labour altogether outran the demand, and wages sank very low; and still there were left large numbers who, though ready to work for a living wage, could find no work to do, and were driven either to

Displacement of labour.

starve or to live by robbery. They were supplemented by the disbanded retainers whom the great houses had kept in their pay, but who were now scattered by the enforcement of the laws against maintenance and livery. The social effects are vividly described by Sir Thomas More in the introductory section of his *Utopia*, wherein the traveller, Raphael Hythloday, recalls a discussion in which he had taken part at the house of Cardinal Morton in the last decade of the fifteenth century. The miserable wages of the agricultural labourer and the swarms of sturdy vagabonds who infested the country provided an ever-present problem, which had hardly ceased to vex the souls of moralists and statesmen until many years after Elizabeth had ascended the throne.

What enclosure meant.

The enclosures by which the process of conversion was carried out require some further explanation; for the term has two clearly distinguishable meanings. Throughout the country the land was still cultivated after the same fashion as in the days of King Alfred. It was divided not into farms but on the open-field system—that is to say, the tenants on each manorial estate did not have a farm apiece, but a holding made up of a number of acre strips, very few if any of which were contiguous; and a considerable part of the demesne of the lord of the manor himself consisted also in strips distributed among the others. These strips were cultivated by common work, not by the plough team of each individual tenant but by teams to which each tenant contributed a share, according to the size of his holding. The meadow land was occupied in common; and beyond the cultivated area lay the common waste, wherein all had common rights, and where the labourer could plant himself and appropriate a small croft to his own use. Enclosure, then, meant either the appropriation and enclosure of a portion of the common land by the lord of the manor, or the enclosure of several acre strips into a single field; a thing which could only be done when the landowner acquired all the strips within that area as part of his private demesne. This, again, might be effected by the fair exchange of his own dispersed strips for the strips of the tenants which lay

within the desired area. Enclosure in this second sense was entirely desirable for purposes of tillage, as bringing complete spaces under single control; it was absolutely necessary if the land was to be turned into pasture. Enclosure in the other sense, the enclosure of common land, was little better than robbery, though it was permissible provided that a 'sufficiency' of the common land was left to the tenants. This limitation, laid down by the Statute of Merton in 1256, was obviously elastic, and could usually be strained by the agents of a grasping landlord very much in his favour, with very little chance of effective resistance on the part of the tenants. It was remarked with disgust by Sir Thomas More that monastic landlords shared with the greediest of the laity the reproach of land-grabbing and of preferring to enrich themselves by making sheep-runs, to the detriment of the community at large and of the rural population in particular. There is reason, however, to suppose that the contemporary criticisms applied chiefly to the quarter of England which lies east of a line drawn from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, a slight extension of the regions affected by the peasant revolt in the reign of Richard II. In the north and the west the monasteries were always popular landlords; in the south-eastern area they appear to have been every whit as grasping, as eager to wrest the letter of the law to their own pecuniary advantage, as any layman.

Of the intellectual and educational movement which was actively at work during the reign of Henry VII. we shall defer speaking till we come to the account of the birth of the Reformation in England itself.

CHAPTER III. HENRY VIII. (1) 1509-1529

I. Wolsey's Ascendency, 1509-1527

The reign of Henry VIII. falls into two well-marked periods. The first is that of the rise, ascendency, decline, and fall of Thomas Wolsey, ending in October 1529. The second is that of the rise, ascendency, and fall of Thomas Cromwell, the period of revolution, followed by those years in which no minister enjoyed the dangerous privilege of the king's confidence, when there was neither definite advance nor definite reaction, when the Reformation in England was merely marking time. It is a matter of some significance that this is the first reign in which the royal policy is definitely associated with particular ministers. Throughout the Middle Ages the outstanding political figures, except during minorities, were those of the kings or of men in opposition to the Crown—Anselm, Becket, Stephen Langton, Montfort. We need not continue the list through the reigns of the later Plantagenets. The men who served the Crown were so much less prominent that the average Englishman would probably find it extremely difficult to name half a dozen between Lanfranc and Wolsey, even if he included in his list Hubert Walter, who was justiciar for an absent king, and Hubert de Burgh, who was justiciar during a minority. It is also significant that from Lanfranc to Wolsey almost all the notable ministers were ecclesiastics; but after Henry's Reformation, which in the main meant the reconstruction of the relations between Church and State, even the most prominent of ecclesiastics is invariably overshadowed by laymen, except in the reign of Queen Mary.

New prominence of ministers.

The accession of Henry VIII. was hailed with delight throughout

England as heralding the dawn of a new era. The old king, after a prolonged struggle, had restored order, security, and public confidence, and had established a strong system of government upon a firm basis. But he had done his work after an unattractive fashion, like the Roman emperor Vespasian. His methods had been those of the keen man of business, ready to snatch at every advantage which the letter of the law allowed him, cold-blooded, mean, and sordid, at least in his later years. Without cruelty or vindictiveness, he had been equally lacking in magnanimity or generosity; even his leniency had been dictated by policy. From the first his financial expedients had savoured of trickery; and, latterly at least, he had permitted if not encouraged a flagrant system of extortion, under cover of law, on the part of his agents, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley. But all men spoke well of the lad of eighteen who succeeded him on the throne. Every princely endowment of person and intellect was his. He excelled in every manly sport and in every kind of accomplishment; he was master of several languages, a scholar, a musician, a theologian, unmatched in the tilt yard or at the archery butts, of a frank and genial bearing, and a free-handed liberality. The first measures of his reign confirmed the popular satisfaction; for he arrested the hated Empson and Dudley, and no one was greatly troubled because the technical charge of treason, on which they were condemned and executed, could scarcely bear investigation. He proceeded at once to marry Katharine of Aragon with great and popular pomp and display. Evidently the dreary days of Henry VII. were ended.

The old king.

The new king, 1509.

Not less, though for very different reasons, was the satisfaction of the European monarchs. Maximilian and Ferdinand had learnt by experience that they could not circumvent the old king in the past; but better things might be hoped from the tender innocence of a young king full of martial ardour and unversed in diplomatic guile. The unholy League of Cambrai had brought them disappointment, for Louis of France, instead of waiting for their co-operation, had taken prompt action, and made himself practically

The European monarchs.

master of North Italy before either of them had moved; and Ferdinand was already devising a fresh league against France, in which he intended to make his son-in-law the cat's-paw. Henry was to be tempted by the offer of Guienne as his share of the spoils; but it was a matter of course that when Ferdinand and Maximilian had used England to get what they wanted out of France, they would leave him to get what he wanted for himself by himself. But the game was foiled, because Henry had in his service a consummate organiser, with all, and more than all, the political insight and diplomatic astuteness of the young king's predecessor.

Henry's minister.

It is owing chiefly to the investigations of Dr. Brewer that Wolsey's position among great English statesmen has come to be recognised, and not only recognised but overestimated. Wolsey was a great diplomatist, who gave to England what may fairly be called an unprecedented weight in the counsels of Europe; but it must be remarked that the counsels of Europe had never, in fact, offered a field for English diplomacy until the fifteenth century, and even in the fifteenth century the field had been limited to France and Burgundy until the accession of Henry VII. England, under Wolsey's guidance, took an active part in influencing the three great territorial princes of France, Spain, and the Empire, but the statement that the cardinal raised her from the position of a third or fourth-class power will not bear examination. Wolsey was one of the few rulers of England who have taken the line of active intervention on the Continent; few, for the simple reason that most rulers of England have regarded the policy of nonintervention as the wiser; just as most continental rulers, in carrying out their own policy, have been apt to take English neutrality for granted—not because England as a power stood in the third or fourth rank, but because the causes of quarrel between the continental powers did not affect her. Certainly after the middle of Henry VII.'s reign there was no power whose alliance or antagonism was of such importance to France, to Spain, or to the Empire as England. It may perhaps be legitimately claimed that Wolsey promoted her from the second to the first

rank, but he did not raise her from the third rank or to a definite ascendency.

At the moment of Henry VIII.'s accession the leaders in the royal council were the experienced minister, Fox, bishop of Winchester, and the soldier, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey; Wolsey was introduced to it by Fox himself as a man who had shown a marked capacity when employed on diplomatic missions, and as a good man of business who enjoyed hard work. When Ferdinand, joined after some delay by Maximilian, invited young Henry to make war upon France on their behalf, Henry was easily seduced, in spite of the pacific counsels of Fox, who had less influence than Surrey. War with France was always attractive to the militarist element in the country. The Pope had joined the league, since Louis had isolated himself and challenged the papal authority by calling a General Council at Pisa. Henry was beguiled into opening the attack by dispatching an expedition for the conquest of Guienne in the summer of 1512.

1512. War with France.

The expedition was a failure. The men wanted eightpence a day and beer, whereas they could only get sixpence a day, and wine which was not to their liking. They became completely out of hand, and insisted on returning home, to the chagrin of their captain, Lord Dorset. For the moment the English became the laughing-stock of Europe; but Henry and the war party were not deterred from their desire to redeem the national character. Wolsey, not yet a director of policy, was employed in a vigorous reorganisation of the war department; and an expedition was prepared, to be launched not against remote Guienne but against Artois and Picardy. In the spring of 1513 English confidence and English prestige were restored by a naval engagement off the harbour of Brest, where the admiral, Sir Edward Howard, attacked a greatly superior French force, boarded the French admiral, and was killed fighting with desperate valour almost single-handed. The English ships were beaten off; but the moral effect was to revive the ancient conviction of their fighting superiority, and to make the English effective masters of the

The Guienne fiasco.

1513. The fight at Brest.

Channel. The expedition landed at Calais about midsummer. A month later Henry opened the siege of Térouanne in person, with Wolsey in attendance.

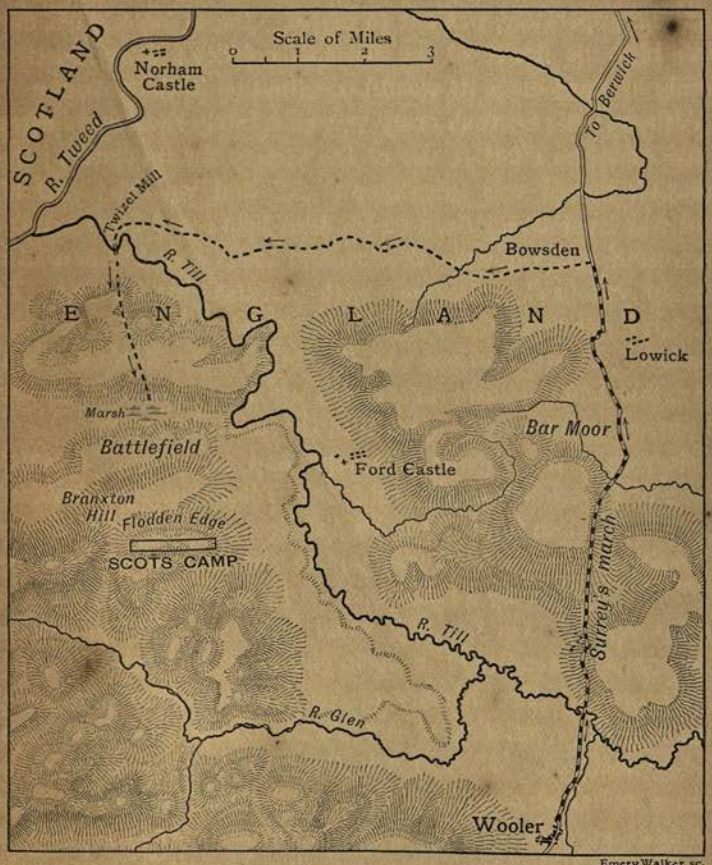
Scotland and France had been allies for two hundred years. There was peace between England and Scotland, but James IV. had grievances against both the Henries. The English were pleased to consider that Scotland could not attack England without a gross breach of faith; the Scots were of opinion that English breaches of faith had given them a quite sufficient warrant for breaking the peace. The historians of either country are apt to view the case as it presented itself to their own countrymen. Henry ignored James's warning that he would invade England, but he left his queen and the earl of Surrey to organise the defences. Three weeks after the siege of Térouanne began, James was over the border with a mighty army, proceeded to the capture of Ford and Norham castles, and at the end of the month took up an entrenched position on Flodden Edge. His position was strong, his supplies were ample, and his communications secure. Surrey, who hastened to bar his advance, had a smaller force, not too well supplied. If James refused battle it was doubtful whether Surrey would be able to hold his force together; almost certainly the English would either break up or would be forced to attack a superior force in an entrenched position and with a powerful artillery. Surrey invited James to come down and fight on the level; James declined. Thereupon Surrey resolved upon a move of extreme audacity. Flodden Edge lay on the west of the river Till, a tributary of the Tweed. Surrey lay some five miles off at Wooler, on the south-west of the Till. On the other side of the stream lay rising ground, through which passed the main road to Berwick, twenty miles away due north; troops moving towards Berwick were concealed from the army at Flodden. On the evening of 8th September Surrey was apparently on the march for Berwick. But at Bar Moor, half way, he changed his plan by the advice of his son Thomas, who had succeeded to the office of Lord Admiral. The movements were completely masked by the hills, and instead of

The Scots invade England, August.

Surrey's march, 8th September.

marching on to Berwick the army turned to the left upon the Scots king's line of communication. On the 9th it recrossed the Till in two divisions at Twizel Mill and Sandyford.

When the English array was seen approaching from the north



FLODDEN

Showing the Scottish position on Flodden Edge, and Surrey's march

it was the business of the Scots to remain in their impregnable position on Flodden Edge, as they had done when Surrey lay to the south; but James was seized with an insane determination to fight the battle out with no advantage of position and

no use of his artillery. He marched down from the ridge to meet the English. The old tale was repeated. The Scottish ranks were broken by the English archers, the undisciplined Highland levies on the Scottish left were scattered, the right was rolled up, and the Scottish centre, fighting desperately, was cut to pieces. James himself fell, and with him the flower of the Scottish nobility; every Scottish family of name made its woeful contribution to the slaughter.

Battle of Flodden, 9th September.

Although the Scottish army was completely shattered Surrey could make no effective use of the victory for retaliation; retaliation indeed was superfluous. All that was best and all that was trustiest lay dead on Flodden field; and Scotland was once more given over to the internal feuds and disorders of a weakly organised government with an infant for its king. To England remained the simple task of fostering the Scottish anarchy. Surrey's reward was the dukedom of Norfolk, which his father had enjoyed; henceforth when we meet with an earl of Surrey he is the heir-apparent of the duke of Norfolk.

Meanwhile the French campaign had prospered. A small troop of Frenchmen carried relief into Térouanne by a brilliant dash through the English lines; then a considerable French force was put to the rout in ignominious panic by a small body of Englishmen at the 'battle of the Spurs.' On the day when James crossed the border Térouanne surrendered; a fortnight after Flodden, Tournay was captured. The memory of the Guienne fiasco was wiped out, and the reputation of the English soldier had been completely restored. When Henry withdrew to England for the winter he had already placed the management of his policy in the hands of one of the very few men who have achieved a reputation for English diplomacy. From this time Thomas Wolsey was in the eyes of the world the real master of England. There were times perhaps when Wolsey himself suffered from that illusion.

The campaign in France.

Ferdinand had not intended Henry to be successful; successes in Picardy were of no use to him, though they might suit Maximilian. He began at once to negotiate a peace privately for himself and to set about detaching the emperor from Henry.

In the spring of 1514 he had succeeded in both his objects; he and Maximilian both made their peace with Louis, Henry was left in the lurch, and his two late allies were both engaged in trying to evade the carrying out of a long-standing treaty for the marriage of their grandson, Charles of Burgundy and Castile, to Henry's younger sister Mary. But they had reckoned without Wolsey, who was untroubled by any sentiment of antagonism to France as the 'ancient enemy' when he could see any practical advantage to be obtained by a French alliance, and who was, moreover, thoroughly awake to their duplicity. Louis XII. had married Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII., when he succeeded his cousin on the throne; but in January 1514 she died, and Louis was again a widower. While Ferdinand and Maximilian were pluming themselves on their successful craft, Wolsey was negotiating the marriage of the elderly widower on the French throne to the beautiful young English princess. It was suddenly announced that the allies were responsible for breaking off the proposed marriage between Mary and Charles, and in October she was married to Louis. The emperor and the king of Aragon found themselves faced by an Anglo-French alliance which might prove actually aggressive.

1514. Wolsey's diplomatic stroke.

Yet this exceedingly clever stroke was foiled by an unexpected event. King Louis died on 1st January, and the crown passed to his cousin, Francis I. Unfortunately for Wolsey's policy the young king of France and the young king of England were each of them extremely jealous of the other; and Henry, with all his lavishness, had all the Tudor keenness over financial bargains. Trouble immediately arose over the dowry of the widowed Mary. Henry had just raised his intimate friend, Charles Brandon, to the dukedom of Suffolk, having found occasion to execute the earl, Edmund de la Pole, who had been held in captivity for six years. Suffolk was sent to France to negotiate, and there he and the young princess were secretly married, with the connivance of Francis. Henry made the rash pair pay heavily for their pardon, and extracted from them compensation for the necessary failure of his claims against

1515. Breach with France.

Francis for restitution of Mary's dowry; but the affair helped to establish a complete though not an open breach.

The jealousy was increased when Francis threw himself into Italy to establish his claims on Milan, and covered himself with martial glory by his victory at Marignano over the Swiss mercenaries, who were now counted the best troops in Europe. The monarchs and Pope Leo X., who had succeeded Julius II., took fresh alarm, and incidentally Wolsey's support was paid for by his elevation to the cardinalate. The cardinal's next step, however, was not crowned with success. Having no mind to involve England in a war with France, he expended instead a large sum in providing Maximilian with forces to sweep the French out of North Italy; but since the money did not find its way into Maximilian's own pocket, the emperor suddenly threw up the plan in the spring of 1516. Ferdinand of Aragon died, and young Charles became king of all Spain as well as lord of the Netherlands. Charles was Maximilian's grandson, and a good deal more of a Burgundian than a Spaniard; the present interests of Burgundy lay in the French alliance; and by the autumn Francis, Maximilian, and Charles were all leagued together. The threatening advance of the Ottoman power in the East had some effect in impressing on the West the necessity for concord. Wolsey turned his mind to arriving at a secret understanding with France. He had utilised Pope Leo's desire to procure funds nominally for a crusade, to get himself appointed, by Henry's own wish, papal legate in England, in spite of the law prohibiting any such appointment. But it was not till 1518 that the cardinal's diplomacy achieved its triumph in a treaty of universal peace. Incidentally Henry's two-year-old daughter Mary was betrothed to the dauphin, who was eight months old, and England gave back Tournay in exchange for hard cash. Wolsey also had the credit for effecting the general pacification.

1516-18. Wolsey's efforts.

The sudden death of Maximilian at the beginning of the next year, 1519, pressed to the front the question of the imperial succession, for which the serious candidates were Charles of Spain and Francis of France. Europe was now virtually under

the control of the three princes, of whom the eldest, Henry, was eight-and-twenty, while the youngest, Charles, was nineteen. For twenty-seven years this same trio dominated Europe. The contest between Charles and Francis was opened when both became candidates for the Empire. Frederick of Saxony declined the honour, and for a short time, much to the perturbation of Wolsey himself, Henry at least nibbled at the idea of entering for the stakes. The cardinal saw much more promise in the prospect of perpetually holding the balance between Francis and Charles. The election was won by the Hapsburg, whatever there was of English influence having been ultimately thrown into that scale. The king and the new emperor both became in effect suitors for the cardinal's favour. Wolsey's personal inclination would seem to have been rather in favour of France than the Empire; but in view of the policy which he was presently to follow, it should be remarked that every other influence in England was adverse to France. The English king was jealous of the French king; his wife, with whom he was as yet on good terms, was the aunt of the emperor; France was the traditional enemy, and war with France always appealed to popular sentiment; and the upper classes were athirst for martial renown. But in favour of the cardinal's desire to keep the peace, to preserve friendly relations with France, and to rely not upon war but upon diplomacy, there remained the permanent fact that some trouble on the Scottish border was the almost inevitable accompaniment of a French war.

1519. **Charles V. emperor.**

1520. **A problem of policy.**

The crisis, the possible necessity of taking one side or the other, was deferred. Neither of the two great potentates was willing to attack the other without the certainty of English support for himself, or at least of English neutrality. In 1520 the kings of England and France met in all the pomp and circumstance and gorgeous extravagance of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. But only a few days earlier Henry had received a private visit from the emperor in England. Neither the king nor the emperor could feel in the least confident that England preferred him to his rival.

During the next twelve months aggression was impracticable for Charles, who had troubles in Spain, troubles with the German princes, and troubles over Luther and the Diet of Worms. But the danger of civil war in Germany subsided; the Spanish troubles were overcome, and the pacific influence of Charles's Burgundian minister, Chièvres, was removed by his death. Francis, on the other hand, was evidently contemplating a renewal of the policy of aggression in Italy. Wolsey ostensibly assumed the rôle of mediator; but he was thoroughly aware, whatever his own wishes may have been, that the peace would not long be preserved between Charles and Francis, and that he would be forced to side with the emperor. Even while the process of mediation was going on, a secret treaty arranged the terms upon which England was to take part in the approaching war. Before the year was out Charles and Francis had begun fighting. Before the summer of 1522 England also had declared war upon France. Wolsey's policy, if indeed it was his and not imposed on him by his master, was not affected by the emperor's failure to procure his election to the Papacy on the death of Leo X. It may be doubted whether he had ever believed in the imperial promises of support. Wolsey as pope would have assuredly played into the hands of the king of England; the emperor necessarily wanted a pope whom he could manage himself. There was no doubt at all that his influence was exerted to procure the election of his own countryman and sometime tutor, Adrian VI.

1521. The imperial alliance.

The circumstances decidedly suggest that Wolsey disliked the war, that he saw little to be made out of it by England, and that he entered upon it in the hope of an early peace, and without any attempt to organise a vigorous campaign. In 1522 there was little but aimless raiding. In fact, England was not in a position to conquer France, Charles did not mean to help her in doing so, and the English captains had no idea of setting about their business after the systematic fashion adopted by Henry V. The war demanded money; Wolsey had to find it; and though the House of Commons, summoned for the purpose, duly made the grant, it was not till

1522-3. The French war.

they had also taken a very significant stand against any attempt to overawe them or to allow their liberality to be regarded as anything but an act of voluntary goodwill to the Crown and of no goodwill to the cardinal. The war was unproductive; and for the second time the ally of England gave Wolsey a rebuff when Pope Adrian VI. died, and the imperial influence was exerted, in despite of promises, to secure the papal throne not for Wolsey but for Giulio de Medici, who became Clement VII. Wolsey at best was no ardent adherent of the imperial alliance, and a natural resentment must have strengthened his disposition to revert to his own policy of a theoretical amity with both of the two great continental rivals, abstention from actual hostilities and practical control by means of diplomacy. In the eyes of his enemies, of course, every approach to France was attributed to the cardinal's disappointment at not being made pope.

In any case it was not practicable to carry on vigorous campaigning without additional funds, and the temper of the parliament of 1523 was emphatically discouraging. Still more so was the temper displayed by the people when the taxes were being collected. The cardinal's policy was tending more and more unmistakably towards an understanding with France; but in 1525 the French arms suffered a tremendous overthrow at the battle of Pavia, where Francis himself was taken prisoner. Pavia seemed to Henry to offer him an excellent chance of reviving the English claim to the French crown, and Wolsey found himself compelled to make a desperate effort to carry out his master's demand for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Wolsey did not venture to face parliament. He resorted to the expedient of a forced loan, called the Amicable Loan. So hot a resentment was aroused that the cardinal substituted the proposal of a benevolence in place of the amicable loan; yet this fared no better. London boldly declared that benevolences were illegal, and appealed to the statute of Richard III. A similar tone was adopted elsewhere. Henry, with an unfailing instinct, realised that he must withdraw. He renounced the demand which had been made in his

1524-5. Financial difficulties.

Pavia.

name, and left the minister to bear the whole of the odium which had been excited.

But Henry saw that Wolsey had proved the utter impossibility of carrying out the royal programme. The cardinal was allowed to take his own course, and the result was that by the end of the year he had made a treaty with France involving the payment by France to England of two million crowns. Charles was obliged to follow suit at the beginning of 1526; but his prisoner, Francis, while accepting the terms on which he was to be set free, made it perfectly clear that he had no intention of abiding by them when he should be at large. Throughout 1526 Wolsey was drawing closer to Francis and away from Charles. In 1527 he was negotiating a treaty very disturbing to popular sentiment in England. The Princess Mary, the only living child of Henry and his wife, was to be married to the second son of the French king, Henry of Orleans. (As the young prince was eight and Mary ten, English antagonism would be mollified by the knowledge that an actual marriage would not take place for some time.) France was also to pay an exceedingly substantial subsidy, pension, or tribute to England. The price was heavy, but not more than it was worth while for Francis to concede, as matters stood, for an unqualified English alliance—Charles had already come to terms with the Lutheran princes at the first Diet of Speier, and in May the Pope was a prisoner in his hands. This year, however, marks the real close of the cardinal's ascendency. Henry had already made up his mind that all considerations of state were to be subordinated to his determination to be released from his marriage to Katharine of Aragon, and to make her maid of honour, Anne Boleyn, his wife.

1525. Reversion to Wolsey's policy.

1527. A French treaty.

Before passing on to the next phase, the affair of the so-called 'Divorce,' which was the occasion of the Reformation in England, we must gather up some of the threads which have been dropped for the sake of preserving a continuous narrative of English foreign policy under Wolsey's direction. Two events had taught Henry his own strength, the one as

Dropped threads.

against the Church, the other as against the nobility, though we have already seen how he had been taught another lesson, which he had very promptly and skilfully assimilated, the necessity of keeping the commons in a good temper. In the winter of 1515 a prominent London citizen, named Richard Hunne, hanged himself, or was hanged, while in the custody of the bishop of London. He had been a vigorous opponent of illegal or dubious clerical exactions, and had been in prison to answer for Lollardy. Popular opinion was convinced that the man had been foully done to death, which was significant enough of the popular attitude towards the clergy, though no adequate evidence was forthcoming to disprove the official statement that Hunne had committed suicide. Precisely at this moment parliament met to debate hotly and to pass in the Commons a bill restricting 'benefit of clergy,' the right of any one who could 'plead his clergy' to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts, and to suffer only the mild penalties which those courts imposed. Any one who could read might plead his clergy; the proposal now was to deprive persons charged with murder and robbery of the privilege. The abbot of Winchcombe denounced the proposal in a sermon, insisting upon the immunity of clerks from punishment by secular authority. The question was debated before the king between the abbot and Dr. Standish, the warden of the London Grey Friars. All the honours of the debate went to Standish. The question was adjourned in parliament till November; but the clerical leaders resolved to strike at the audacious friar who had supported the secular authority. Standish was summoned before Convocation to defend his position or to recant. Standish appealed to the king; the lay lords, urged by the Commons, prayed the king to maintain the royal authority. The king presided over a court to hear the argument, and the court pronounced with emphasis not only that clerks might be summoned before temporal judges, but that the action of Convocation had been in contravention of the Statute of Praemunire. The clergy found themselves compelled to offer, through Wolsey himself, a humble apology, and a prayer that the question might be submitted to

1515. Richard Hunne.

A victory for the Crown.

the Pope. Henry absolutely refused. Parliament was actually dissolved without passing the bill, but Henry had learnt, and the clergy had learnt, that in a serious collision between Church and Crown it was not the Crown that was likely to suffer.

A few years later came the other demonstration of the king's power. Apart from the daughter and grandchildren of Edward IV. and his brother George of Clarence, none of whom stood in the first rank of the nobility, the greatest of the magnates and the nearest to the royal family was the duke of Buckingham, who traced his pedigree back to the youngest son of Edward III., while his grandmother had been one of the Beauforts. In 1521 Buckingham was suddenly arrested for treason, on no better grounds than that he had consulted soothsayers and had used rash language about the cardinal. Popular report, as a matter of course, attributed the proceedings against him to the cardinal's vindictiveness. The duke was tried before a court[1] of his peers, presided over by the duke of Norfolk. Although there was no evidence that he had any treasonable design or was guilty of anything worse than the incautious expressions which a man who intended to embark upon treason would have most carefully avoided, he was unanimously condemned and sent to the block, simply because the king chose to desire his death. The king learnt very clearly that wherever else opposition might be offered to his will, none would be forthcoming from the temporal peers of the realm.

1521. Buckingham.

II. The King's Matter, 1527-1529

If at the beginning of the year 1527 any one had ventured to prophesy that within a few years England would have disavowed the Roman allegiance, that the old relations between Church and State would be entirely altered, that the monasteries would be dissolved, and that doctrines connected with the name of John Wiclif would become the accepted teaching of the Church in England, the prophecy would have been received with scornful incredulity. The English, unlike their

The coming revolution.

[1] See Note I., *Trial of Peers*, and Genealogies, I. and VIII.

neighbours beyond the Tweed, are not naturally prone to philosophical or theological speculation. The normal Englishman is disposed to accept with very little question the conventions among which he has been brought up; and it may very well be doubted whether the English people if left entirely to themselves, without any coercion or persecution, would ever have broken away from the Church of Rome, not because of any excessive loyalty to her but out of natural conservatism.

Its consecutive stages.

But it was ordained that a self-willed monarch should want something which he could not, as an obedient son of the Church, obtain without the Pope's sanction; and since the Pope's sanction was refused, the monarch's alternative was to repudiate his authority. Even the clergy in England were a long way from being loyal to a system which subjected them to a foreign bishop; not a few of them supported the king so long as nothing seemed to be involved except the direct authority of the Pope. Some of them, like Stephen Gardiner, only realised too late that there was much more at stake—that the repudiation of the papal authority carried much else in its train. The laity at large had no objection; they had always been jealous of papal interference. The king, who had committed himself to defiance of the Pope, lent a ready ear to the adviser who hinted that the temporalities of the Church might with propriety be appropriated by the Crown or otherwise dealt with to the Crown's profit. Again, there was no difficulty in carrying the laity with him, because even if they did not have a direct share in the spoils, as a great many did, there would at least be the less reason for inviting them to pay taxes. The average layman was easily persuaded that a wealthy Churchman was an anomaly, and that the Church's wealth had been filched. The Commons had more than once expressed that view in parliament towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, though the Crown had at that time supported the Church. But popular respect for clerical authority could hardly survive the successful assertion of the secular supremacy; the pronouncements of the Churchmen on doctrinal questions lost their credit for infallibility. A challenging of accepted doctrines, especially

such as implied that the clergy were divinely endowed with a peculiar authority, was an inevitable corollary, although the originator of the whole movement professed himself to his last hour a champion of the strictest orthodoxy.

King Henry had married a wife somewhat older than himself, but for several years he had been satisfied with her. Nevertheless, in course of time he was smitten with qualms of conscience. The children she had borne to him scarcely survived birth, save one girl, the future Queen Mary. His wife was his brother's widow. It was true that he had married her under a dispensation from the Pope; still, it had been suggested that the relationship was too close for a papal dispensation to be valid. Admittedly there were marriages forbidden not only by the regulations of the Church, for which a papal dispensation would be valid, but also by the moral law itself, for which no dispensation could be valid. Was not this a case in point? There was no conclusive precedent. Besides this problem of conscience, there was the undoubted fact that for reasons of state it was most undesirable that Henry's heir should be a girl. There was no precedent for a queen-regnant in this country; besides, it was one thing to find a suitable husband for a princess in ordinary circumstances, and quite another to find one who could be mated with the future queen of England without obvious risks of a serious character. There was no chance of another son being born, consequently there was good political reason why Henry should desire to dissolve his marriage and contract a new one, since there was no reason to anticipate release by Katharine's early death. To a certain class of mind this was a sufficiently cogent reason for setting aside the marriage. But in addition to these reasons Henry had a private one of his own. He was fascinated by a young maid of honour, Mistress Anne Boleyn, and the lady was virtuous enough, or astute enough, to resist her royal lover's illicit advances, though she had no objection to becoming queen. The political argument weighed with statesmen, but none could regard the prospective bride with equanimity. So Henry urged the point

1527. The king's conscience.

Reasons of state.

A private reason.

of conscience. At first all he professed to desire was to have the prickings of his conscience quieted—to have an authoritative pronouncement which would really satisfy him that Katharine was his lawful wife. Nevertheless, it was very soon obvious that no conceivable authority would satisfy him on that point; conscience would not be quieted until authority confirmed his view that the marriage was void. In 1527 Wolsey had his orders, in effect to extract from the Pope by hook or by crook a pronouncement against the validity of the dispensation granted by his predecessor.

Wolsey's dilemmas.

The predicament was awkward for the cardinal and awkward for the Pope. It could in no case be agreeable to a pope to admit that an authoritative act of a predecessor had been *ultra vires*; besides which, in 1527 the Pope was in the grip of the emperor, and the emperor was the loyal nephew of the queen from whom Henry wished to be parted. Clement dared not offend the emperor by yielding to Henry's wishes. As for Wolsey, he would have been glad to see the king married again, which was offensive to the partisans of Katharine; but not married to Anne Boleyn, which was naturally offensive to Anne, as well as displeasing to the king. Again, the cardinal was not at all willing to see the papal authority diminished, or a quarrel between England and the Papacy, but he was perfectly aware that if he himself lost Henry's favour his own ruin would inevitably follow. The story of the next two years is consequently a story of struggles and shifts, the cardinal seeking desperately to discover some tolerable way out of the deadlock, Clement doing everything he could to shift the responsibility on to some one else's shoulders, the king determined to have his way, to void the marriage, and to marry Anne Boleyn, with the formal authority of the Pope if possible, but if not without it.

The king's position.

As a matter of fact, the mere question of conscience was a very easy one to settle. Nothing more was necessary than for Henry to treat Katharine as his official consort but not as his wife. The political question was more serious; but if in reality it weighed with Henry it cannot have counted

for much, since on political grounds marriage with Anne would in any case have been indefensible. As far as Henry is concerned, the whole political case for what is called the 'Divorce' goes to pieces upon the rock of his determination to marry a politically unsuitable wife. And yet the perverted ingenuity of our most brilliant historian of the period has discovered that the person whose conduct must be apologised for and pardoned by a chivalrous judge is the queen, who insisted on believing that she was the lawful wife of the man to whom she had been married, and objected to being cast off, either for real reasons of state or to satisfy the scruples of Henry's conscience at the expense of her own.

The whole affair is by common consent, but incorrectly, referred to as the 'Divorce.' There was actually no question of a divorce, which is the cancellation of a marriage validly contracted. What Henry wanted, and what he ultimately obtained from the English ecclesiastical court, was a decree of nullity, a pronouncement that the marriage itself had never been valid at all. Two points are to be observed in connection with the French treaty negotiated at the beginning of 1527. There could be no doubt that even at that moment Henry had resolved upon the divorce; yet it would make Mary illegitimate. It must, therefore, be supposed that it was intended to procure Mary's legitimation by Act of parliament, on the ground that the union of her parents had been contracted in good faith; or else that it was intended to provide later a means of escape from the proposed marriage itself, which was certainly unpopular in the country. The second point is that Wolsey, in correspondence with Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, declared that the French negotiator, the bishop of Tarbes, had himself thrown doubts upon the validity of the papal dispensation. This may have been a mere invention, brought forward to induce the English bishops to see how necessary it was that there should be a formal and decisive investigation and settlement of the question. But, if true, it provided excellent cover for Wolsey, who would be able to claim that the French had entered upon the treaty with

Subsidiary points.

their eyes open to the possibility that Mary's legitimacy might be effectively disputed.

The first plan put forward by Wolsey, just about the time when the imperial troops were sacking Rome, was that he himself as papal legate should take the initiative and should summon the king before the Legatine Court for living as the husband of his brother's widow. But this plan was dropped. The next suggestion was to procure a papal commission with direct authority to decide; the first plan had made no provision against the possibility of an appeal by Katharine from the Legatine Court to Rome. It was Wolsey's business to emphasise the theory that what the king really wanted was to have the validity of the marriage confirmed. But Henry was already distrustful, and tried behind Wolsey's back to engineer a plan of his own—to induce the Pope to authorise a second marriage, on the ground of public necessity. Naturally nothing came of this preposterous proposal. Wolsey again took the matter in hand, and sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome to procure a commission with full powers—either Wolsey with another legate, or a legate of Wolsey's choice without Wolsey himself, or in the last resort Wolsey and the archbishop of Canterbury.

Various devices.

Gardiner made it quite plain that if the Pope would not do what was wanted of him it was more than probable that he would find his authority ignored; but all he succeeded in obtaining was a commission, to consist of Wolsey himself and Cardinal Campeggio, whose decision would have to be referred to Rome for confirmation. Campeggio did not reach England until the autumn; Clement's grand desire was for delay. He had actually escaped from imperialist custody, but he evidently hoped against hope that some happy accident might relieve him from the necessity of making himself responsible for a decision which must draw down upon him the wrath either of the emperor or of the king of England. Wolsey, on the other hand, was by this time very well aware that his own position was critical. Katharine chose to regard him as the instigator of the whole proceeding; the Boleyn coterie were working against him because they knew that he had striven

1528. The legatine commission.

his hardest to dissuade the king from his intention of marrying Anne; the whole of the nobility were thirsting for his down-

1529. Wolsey's danger.

fall; and the commons believed him to have been responsible for the taxation which the king had graciously remitted. If he failed to obtain the divorce his ruin was inevitable. He brought to bear upon Campeggio all the pressure he could; Campeggio fell back upon declarations that he must await further instructions from Rome. The cardinals went together to persuade Katharine to withdraw her opposition. The case turned on the question whether the marriage with Prince Arthur had been only formal, since it could be argued that the papal dispensation had been intended to apply only on the hypothesis that the first marriage had not been consummated. But Katharine held to her position. She was Henry's lawful wife, and nothing short of the papal pronouncement would ever induce her to admit that she was no wife.

Campeggio warned Clement that the papal authority in England was at stake; but the anger of Charles was a more imminent danger than the anger of the king of England.

Failure of the commission, July.

The Pope tried to persuade Henry to act on his own responsibility; Henry, knowing that the divorce was unpopular, was determined on making the Pope responsible. By June 1529 the resources of procrastination were exhausted, and the Legatine Court was opened. Katharine through the bishop of Rochester appealed against the jurisdiction of the court to the Pope; Campeggio insisted on proroguing the proceedings. Clement, unable any longer to resist the imperial pressure, revoked the case to Rome. Already Wolsey was tottering to his fall. The guidance even of foreign policy was taken out of his hands, and, without intervention on Henry's part, Charles and Francis were allowed to compose their quarrel on terms which made it vain to hope that pressure from France might be brought to bear upon the Pope to counteract the pressure from the em-

Wolsey's fall, October.

peror. In October Campeggio took his departure from England; the day after he sailed a writ of *præmunire* was issued against Wolsey for acting as legate. On 16th October he was deprived of the chancellor's seals, removed

from all his benefices, and allowed to retire to his private house at Esher. Henry had no more use for him; the course which the king had laid down for himself was one which demanded services of another kind than the great cardinal could give.

The brief remainder of Wolsey's career was without political influence. The king was graciously pleased to restore to him some of his confiscated property and to reinstate him as archbishop of York; the bishopric of Winchester, which he had also held, was bestowed upon Stephen Gardiner. Wolsey retired to his northern diocese, and there devoted himself to his episcopal duties in a manner which won him the enthusiastic affection of his flock. He who throughout his life had been the typical worldly prelate, the magnificent politician, utterly untouched by the things of the spirit, revealed in his fall possibilities of a spiritual elevation of which in the days of his greatness no premonition could be found. Yet he had not altogether flung aside the trammels of the world. He was unwise enough to enter into correspondence with the king of France in order to entreat his good offices with the king of England. The vindictiveness of his countless enemies in England had not been satisfied: he received a summons to London to stand his trial on the charge of treason. On his way south he was overtaken by mortal sickness, and died at Leicester Abbey.

Wolsey's end.

Wolsey was perhaps the ablest diplomatist that England has produced, though if we are to believe the best of him we must assume that his own policy was seriously thwarted by the self-will of the king and the popular antagonism to France. But his absorption in diplomacy prevented him from taking a lead in what was really the first question of the day—the reconstruction of relations between Church and State, the reformation of the Church in England upon lines which would have avoided revolution. England had need of a great spiritual leader, and none was forthcoming; there is no sign that Wolsey had even a suspicion of the nature of the religious crisis or of its bearing upon politics. His work perished with him, because it was essentially of an evanescent character, having no concern with the vital movement of the time.

III. Scotland, 1513-1528

The period of the cardinal's ascendency in England coincides almost precisely with the minority of James v. of Scotland. The death of James iv. on the fatal field of Flodden made a two-year-old child king; the regency, in accordance with the slain monarch's will, devolved upon the queen-mother, Margaret Tudor, with a council consisting of the earls of Huntly, Angus (head of the Douglases), and Arran[1] (James Hamilton, whose mother was Mary, daughter of James ii.). Of little less importance in the council than the three earls was James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow. Outside of Scotland, however, there was a nearer kinsman of the crown than Arran, John, duke of Albany, the son of that Albany who had played so troublesome a part during the reign of his brother, James iii.

The Scottish magnates.

As matters stood, Albany was heir-presumptive to the throne of the infant king; and, as a matter of course, a substantial portion of the nobles, and perhaps the popular voice, demanded his recall to Scotland. The regency of the king of England's sister, who, it must be remembered, was no more than five-and-twenty, could scarcely command general approval. Surrey had not followed up Flodden by a serious invasion, but Lord Dacre, the warden of the marches, was raiding on the border, although it appears that the Scots themselves were still capable of making quite effective counter-raids. Matters, however, became worse when the queen-mother, after giving birth to a posthumous son, proceeded to marry young Angus, who had just succeeded his grandfather, old Archibald Bell-the-Cat. Arran and Beaton with sundry of the other lords were at once ranged as very definite supporters of Albany, and got possession of the persons of the regent and her children.

In 1515, when Scotland was included in the pacification between England and France, Albany came over, and at an assembly of the Estates was proclaimed regent. His presence made enemies of some of those who had been chiefly responsible

[1] See Genealogies, iv.

for his recall, including his cousin Arran; but before the close of the year his principal opponents, including Margaret, Angus, and Arran, had been driven over the border, and the two infant princes were in his hands. Almost immediately afterwards the younger died. The regent would probably have made good his position but for his own headstrong temper, his inability to speak any language but French, and the policy of the English court, which carefully fostered dissensions among the Scottish nobility. How thoroughly the Scots were warranted in distrust of the English king is proved by Henry's intrigues for getting young James into his own hands while Margaret was still at the head of the government.

1515-17. The Regent Albany.

Nevertheless, in 1517 Albany chose to withdraw to France, where he succeeded indeed in renewing the old alliance, but left Scotland itself to drift once more into a chaos of factions. Margaret herself returned to Scotland, and quarrelled violently with her young husband. As the struggle for supremacy now lay chiefly between Angus and Arran, who for the time being had attached himself to the Albany party, Angus was the representative of the Anglicising party. The strife of the Douglases and the Hamiltons issued not precisely in civil war but in repeated and violent brawls. At the end of 1521 Albany reappeared in Scotland, where he was supported by the Arran faction, Huntly, Beaton, and the queen-mother (on account of her hostility to her husband), in taking an aggressively hostile attitude towards England; for it was at this time that Henry was definitely ranging himself on the side of the emperor against the king of France.

1517-21. Factions.

1521-4. Albany.

The preparations for a French war made it impossible for Henry to respond to the appeal of the Douglases and intervene forcibly in Scotland. Angus himself was dispatched to France; when Henry sent to demand the expulsion of Albany, the Estates received his message with very scant courtesy. Late in the year, when the English were actually engaged on a French campaign, Albany collected a force and threatened an invasion. The nobles, however, not forgetful of Flodden, were not at all

inclined to cross the border; the energetic Dacre, who, as a matter of fact, was in no position to offer resistance, succeeded in beguiling Albany into a truce. The regent broke up his army, and found it advisable to retire to France for diplomatic purposes; Huntly, Arran, and Argyll were associated with a French agent as a council of regency. During the next year, 1523, a series of border raids was organised against the Scots under the direction of Surrey. Albany reappeared, and again collected an army, which again refused to cross the Tweed. The Scots, as commonly happened when French troops were in the country for any length of time, were out of temper with their allies; the army was disbanded ignominiously, the French were sent home, and in the spring of 1524 Albany threw up his Scottish ambitions and departed from the country never to return. He had achieved nothing memorable, but on the whole Scotland probably owed it to him that an English ascendency was not established during the ten years after Flodden.

For the skilful conduct of the continued resistance to England the main credit belongs to Archbishop Beaton. The high sense of honour of Henry VIII. and the unworthy suspiciousness of the Scots, as depicted by some historians, are curiously illustrated by the indubitable fact that Wolsey and Henry endeavoured to entrap the Scottish archbishop into a conference on the border, where he was to be kidnapped and carried off into safe custody in England. But the archbishop was too wary.

1525. **Erection of James V.**

Now, however, there came another turn of the wheel. With the disappearance of Albany, Arran's ambitions revived. Instead of combining with Beaton, he thought it politic to seek the favour of the king of England and the alliance of the queen-mother. The pair brought the boy James up to Edinburgh and proclaimed his 'erection'—that is, that he was now the actual responsible ruler of the country, though he was only thirteen years old. The archbishop was decoyed to Edinburgh Castle, and there made a prisoner.

Again the wheel turned. Angus came back from France, and succeeded in getting the young king into his own hands. The

unstable Arran came over to his side. By 1527 the Douglases were completely supreme in Scotland, and young James, bitterly though he resented the position, was wholly unable to escape from that tutelage. Angus, however, was not a man of any real ability. It was an unfailing rule in every period of a Scottish royal minority that power depended upon the possession of the king's person. Douglas had to deal with a lad who, young as he was, was courageous, resourceful, and burning with resentment. About midsummer in 1528 James escaped out of the hands of his guardians to Stirling, where he was surrounded by partisans of the anti-Douglas faction. Then he issued a proclamation of banishment against the house of Douglas. Hitherto the supporters of Angus had been able to claim technically that the king was with them; now there was no escape from the fact that to support the great house was to be in rebellion. Before the end of the year forfeitures had been passed by the Estates upon all the Douglas kin, and Angus was a fugitive in England. James could claim that he was at last in very deed king of Scotland.

1526-8. The Douglas ascendency.

1528. James grasps the sceptre.

CHAPTER IV. HENRY VIII.
(2) THE REFORMATION, 1529-1547

I. The Royal Supremacy, 1529-1534

The avocation to Rome of the question which was commonly known as the 'King's Matter' was a decisive moment for Henry VIII. Persuasion had failed, and war was to be threatened all along the line; the Pope must either yield or pay the penalty. At all costs Anne Boleyn was to be queen; but the discarding of Queen Katharine was in itself unpopular, and unpopularity did not suit Henry. It was necessary, therefore, to import into the discarding process elements strongly attractive of popular favour. In what he was about to do the king must have parliament at his back. Since 1515 only one parliament had been summoned, that of 1523, which had shown a very distinct spirit of independence in relation to taxation for the French war. The earlier parliament, however, had displayed a vigorous anticlerical spirit, a spirit with which the great city of London at least was thoroughly permeated. Also at all times parliament had been ready to support the Crown in resisting papal claims. Henry could reckon with certainty that the Houses would welcome an anticlerical and antipapal policy. To make assurance doubly sure, a process of packing[1] could be applied to the Commons, which would at any rate guarantee a preponderance of members favourable to the royal policy, though it might not, and as a matter of fact did not, procure a merely subservient assembly. The Commons might be trusted to deal as untenderly with the Church and with the Pope as the king might desire, in respect of the reformation of notorious

The king's resolve.

[1] See Note II., *Composition of the Tudor House of Commons.*

abuses, papal claims to jurisdiction in England, and the wealth of the ecclesiastical body. This was the field of reformation which Henry proposed to himself.

In the hands of the mighty minister, Thomas Cromwell, the reformation became a revolution in which every vestige of papal authority was repudiated, the Church was despoiled, the monastic system was wiped out, and the complete supremacy of the State over the Church was asserted But beyond this the campaign against the Church was made part of a larger campaign for increasing the wealth of the Crown and establishing despotic power. And beyond this again, and not by any design of the king's, Henry's reformation necessitated also the sanction by the State of a doctrinal reformation, the adoption by the Church, under the ægis of the State, of doctrines and practices which Rome had condemned as heretical; whereby in the view of most Englishmen, though not of all, and of all adherents of the Papacy, the Church of England was completely severed from the Church of Rome in religion as well as politically.

What lay beyond.

Hitherto the movement towards a reformation in doctrine had neither penetrated very deeply nor been very widespread. Ever since the days of Wiclif there had been an undercurrent of Lollardy, a prevalence in secret and in quite limited circles of adherence to heretical views, which Wiclif had enunciated and for which some few Lollards had died. An inclination to unorthodoxy, though not its open profession, was an inevitable concomitant of hostility to the clerical body; doctrines which magnified the clerical office and fostered clerical privileges were necessarily open to suspicion; in spite of heresy laws, copies of Wiclif's translation of the Scriptures escaped destruction and were privily studied. But the leaders in the movement for the reform of abuses in religion were not Lollards but scholars and educationists—men who refused to associate themselves with the Lutheran movement, to many of whom that movement was anathema; just as some centuries later the French Revolution was to be anathema to Liberals of the school of Edmund Burke. The critical study of the New

The reformation movement.

Testament, based upon the new Greek scholarship, was warmly encouraged by the dignitaries of the Church; the edition of the New Testament, the Greek text, accompanied by a new Latin translation, issued by Erasmus in 1516, made the reactionaries shudder, but was welcomed by such men as Fox of Winchester among the bishops and Thomas More among laymen. The colleges founded at Oxford by Fox and Wolsey, and at Cambridge under the direction of the saintly Fisher who became bishop of Rochester, were staffed with disciples of the New Learning; though both More and Fisher were to die for their loyalty to the authority of the Church, and More, half in jest, called himself a 'Hammer of Heretics.' Yet More in his *Utopia*, and his friend, Dean Colet in the pulpit, were unsparing in their denunciations of the corruptions in the Church, the falsification of doctrine, the neglect of moral teaching, and the devotion of the clergy to the pursuit of worldly prosperity instead of to their apostolic functions. The educational and critical movement, in short, emanated from essentially orthodox sources, though it issued in the general rejection of doctrines to which its originators remained faithful unto death. The time had come when a reformation more drastic than they dreamed of had become necessary, and was to be carried out by other hands than theirs.

The scholars.

The 'reformation parliament' met in the first week in November. Among its members was Thomas Cromwell, who had been secretary to the fallen cardinal and a member of the parliament of 1623. On Wolsey's fall, the astute man of business had made haste to seek the favour of the ascendent party, and was elected for Taunton by the interest of the duke of Norfolk. He showed, however, no disloyalty to his old master, offering a bold opposition in parliament to the bitter attacks which were made upon Wolsey. Whether his conduct is to be attributed to an honest fidelity or to an acute perception of the course most in his own interests, his advocacy of the cardinal did him no harm. He was apparently received almost at once into the royal confidence. How far he suggested or directed the king's policy during the next

Thomas Cromwell's rise.

three years is chiefly a matter of inference. By 1533 men were beginning to recognise in him the king's most influential adviser, and from that year till 1539 his hand and brain are everywhere discernible. But from 1529 to 1533 we can only suspect that it was Cromwell, not Henry, who devised the steps by which Henry attained his ends.

Cromwell is reputed to have won the king's confidence by promising to make him richer than any of his predecessors, the proposed source of wealth being, by inference, the Church. His combination of perfectly unscrupulous statecraft with unswerving loyalty made him precisely the instrument wanted by the king to bear down opposition. Another instrument, equally useful though in a different way, was found ready to the king's hand in the person of a Cambridge scholar, Thomas Cranmer, who made the ingenious suggestion that the king should invite the universities of Europe to pronounce upon the lawfulness of the marriage with Katharine and the validity of the papal dispensation. Cranmer made the suggestion in the course of an accidental conversation with Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary, who was just about to receive Wolsey's bishopric of Winchester. Gardiner communicated the idea to Henry, who jumped at it, sent for Cranmer, found in him an agreeable combination of academic ingenuity, scholarship, and impressionableness, with the quite exceptional merit that, in spite of his Orders, he looked upon the Church as entirely subordinate to the State—a view common among laymen but scarcely consistent with a belief in Divine authority conveyed by ordination. Henry appropriated Cranmer, with the comfortable conviction that he could make the learned man see most things precisely as he wished them to be seen; and his expectation was rarely disappointed, though there were occasions when Cranmer's intelligence failed to bring his conscience into accord with his master's and he stood manfully by his convictions. For the time being Cranmer was attached to an embassy to the emperor headed by the earl of Wiltshire, the title which had just been bestowed upon Anne Boleyn's father. The appeal to the universities was at once taken in hand, on the

Thomas Cranmer.

hypothesis that a decisive pronouncement of the learned bodies would give the king sufficient warrant for declining to submit the case to the Pope, and for dealing with it instead in the national courts.

1529. Parliament.

The first business of parliament was to deal with clerical abuses; not, in form, an attack on the Church, but only upon customs and practices recognised as indefensible even by most Churchmen; of a kind which Convocation usually found itself quite anxious to reform without lay intervention, as soon as lay intervention had become inevitable. A series of Acts were passed, for the abolition or reduction of fees claimed by clerical courts, forbidding pluralities, and requiring the clergy to reside in their benefices. Bishop Fisher realised that this legislation was aimed at 'the goods, not the good' of the Church; but the justification for it was obvious, and the argument that it should have been left not to parliament but to Convocation was unconvincing, since the reforming zeal of Convocation never seemed to become active except under the threat of secular legislation. For two years parliament was not called upon to take further action.

1530. The universities undecided.

In the meanwhile, however, the universities disappointed the Defender of the Faith. They voted according to their political predilections, not because they were dishonest, but because where arguments are nicely balanced the scale is apt to be turned and conviction to be produced by something irrelevant. France wanted the friendship of the king of England, so the French universities adopted his view. Italy was virtually under the control of the emperor; Italians and Spaniards favoured Katharine's cause. The Lutherans of Germany were not well disposed towards Henry, who had posed as the champion of Rome against Luther; also Luther was himself committed to the less rigid views regarding the marriage bond and the relationships which sprang from it; therefore they were disinclined to pronounce that marriage with a brother's widow was forbidden by the law of God. Nobody could pretend that the voice of European learning had pronounced decisively one way or the other. Henry, of course, claimed what

we should in modern times call a moral victory, but moral victories of that kind cannot be acted upon as if the adversary had been overwhelmingly defeated; in point of fact, if he had lost nothing he had certainly gained nothing.

It was not yet clear, however, that English Churchmen saw eye to eye with the king. Henry's conscience—or Thomas Cromwell—suggested that the Guardian of the law had overlooked the duty of penalising the clergy for their breach of the Statute of Praemunire in submitting to the legatine jurisdiction of the cardinal. To say that they had done so with the implicit, if not the explicit, approval of the king was no defence; there was nothing for it but to purchase pardon at a price of £100,000—equivalent to about twenty times that amount to-day. The helpless Convocation submitted, whereupon they were required to adopt a clause describing the king as 'Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy in England.' Archbishop Warham found a loophole of escape by adding the qualifying phrase, 'so far as the law of Christ permits.' The king could hardly object; but the value of the phrase was diminished by the consideration that the king would certainly claim to be the judge, if any question arose as to the meaning of the limitation. But the clause was not intended for immediate application; it was only for future use in case of necessity.

1531. The Supreme Head.

Next year, 1532, the Commons were at work again. There was a further pruning of clerical privileges through the Acts dealing, not drastically, with Mortmain and Benefit of Clergy. Much more ominous for the Papacy was the Annates Act, giving power to forbid the further payment to Rome of the impost called Annates, the first year's income, which had to be surrendered to Rome on appointment or translation to any of the higher ecclesiastical benefices. The burden was a heavy one, and until recently it has been generally believed that the clergy themselves petitioned for its abolition. It is now recognised as practically certain that the document from which this impression was derived had a parliamentary source and did not emanate from Convocation.

1532. Campaign in parliament.

The bishops themselves opposed the bill, though this might be explained merely on the ground that they regarded the question as one for Convocation, not for parliament.

Supplication against the Ordinaries.

Of no less importance was the petition known as the Supplication against the Ordinaries, which was at this time presented by the House of Commons, inspired, we may presume, by Thomas Cromwell. In part it was a protest against the procedure and the charges of the ecclesiastical courts or 'ordinaries,' in part against the legislation by Convocation, which was held to encroach upon the secular law. The reply of Convocation was that the accusations against the courts should be made specific instead of general before they could be inquired into, and that the canons, having Scriptural authority, could not contravene the law. They appealed to the arguments set forth by the king himself in his anti-Lutheran pamphlet, and they offered that in future no canons, except such as dealt with matters of faith, should be published without the royal assent. But the king in plain terms had resolved to put an end to the separate legislative functions of the ecclesiastical body, functions which Churchmen had from time immemorial claimed as an indefeasible right. Whether they did now in actual fact make what was in effect a complete surrender is a matter of dispute. It is clear that in the surrender or compromise called the Submission of the Clergy they did agree that no new canons should be issued without the royal assent, and that such existing canons as were specifically called in question should be submitted to a commission; possibly that the whole of the canon law should be so submitted. The king, however, was undoubtedly satisfied that the surrender was unconditional, that the Churchmen had left to them no way of escape from the complete supremacy of the secular authority. Sir Thomas More, who had accepted the chancellorship on Wolsey's dismissal, felt it so much that he resigned the seals; the old Archbishop Warham felt it so much that it killed him, and room was made for the elevation of Cranmer to the primacy. Possibly at one time Henry had intended that office for Gardiner, but he or Cromwell had learnt

The Submission of the Clergy.

by this time that Gardiner might prove a second Becket, and Cranmer was chosen.

Before the end of 1532 Henry was satisfied that there would be no overt resistance to his will from the body of the English clergy, and that he was sufficiently assured of the support of the king of France. He felt warranted in assuming that the marriage with Katharine was void, and he was privately wedded to Anne Boleyn; whether in November or in January is uncertain. It is not credible that Anne should at the last moment, after years of obduracy, have taken the risk of allowing him to anticipate marriage—a consideration which seems really decisive in favour of the earlier date. Clement was still trying to temporise, and did not refuse the pallium of the archbishopric to Cranmer, who took the oath of allegiance to the Papacy with a reservation. But the Pope was still dominated by the emperor; it became known that he contemplated excommunicating Henry unless Katharine were restored to her position as his wife. The warmth of Francis was cooled by concessions in Italy from Charles. The critical moment had arrived. Henry crossed the Rubicon.

The Boleyn marriage.

In April 1533 parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals, which was, in fact, the final repudiation of papal jurisdiction—final because it was at last intended to be acted upon decisively. In May the new primate held a court to decide upon the 'King's Matter'; Katharine denied the jurisdiction and refused to plead; and the court pronounced the marriage void *ab initio*, thereby declaring the secret marriage with Anne valid, and the birth of the Princess Mary illegitimate. A majority in Convocation had already been induced to declare in favour of this theory; but this was a mere expression of opinion, not a judicial decision. The Pope pronounced the judgment of the English court void; the king retorted by confirming the Act in Restraint of Appeals and the Annates Act. Clement rang down the curtain in March 1534 by officially declaring the papal judgment that Katharine was Henry's lawful wife.

1533. The die is cast.

From this time we find three ecclesiastical groups becoming differentiated. In the first are those, of whom not a few became

martyrs for their faith, the champions of the spiritual authority of the Papacy, such as Fisher of Rochester and Sir Thomas More.

Ecclesiastical groups. The second and most remote group from these are the Erastians, the declared adherents of the supremacy of the secular authority—all men with a leaning to the adoption of Protestant doctrines—headed by the primate. The third group comprised the bulk of the clergy, now awakened to the full danger which threatened the authority of their order—men like Gardiner, and Stokesley, bishop of London, who had thoroughly committed themselves to antipapal views, but would yield no scrap of clerical authority or privilege for which they could dare to make a stand, and who were at the same time utterly opposed to any innovations in doctrine. On the latter point the king was very much of their way of thinking. Cromwell, who had no theological predilections such as influenced his master, was alive to the political advantages of encouraging alliance with the new teaching. But while Henry lived, only one decisive victory was won by the new school, the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular with the royal authority. The point was vital, because it was impossible that the people should read the Scriptures for themselves and should still abstain from an active

The Bible. exercise of private judgment in their interpretation of them, and it was certain that the private judgment of large numbers would extract from the Bible warrant for doctrines hitherto accounted heretical. In other words, the application of private judgment to the Scriptures tended to Protestantism, and, apart from positive Protestantism, to emphasise the number of questions which must be regarded as open.

But in 1534 there was no question of admitting innovations in doctrine. The Crown had two objects in view: the first to

1534. The Nun of Kent. drive home the principle of the supremacy of the State, the second to exploit a new source of revenue. The latter of these objects was not yet revealed, for the immediate and more pressing one required the public conversion, or the suppression of adverse opinion. For some years past a young woman named Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the Nun of Kent, had been greatly resorted to on account of her pious

prophetic trances. Latterly her prophecies had been much concerned with denunciations of the 'Divorce.' The woman herself was probably the victim of delusions; the persons who exploited her can scarcely have been equally innocent. As matters stood, there was a real danger that popular resentment over the 'king's matter,' worked upon by superstitious excitement, might produce serious trouble. The nun and her accomplices were arrested, and early in 1534 were tried and put to death. The king would have used the opportunity for incriminating More and Fisher, both of whom held, as a matter of conscientious personal opinion, that Katharine's marriage to Henry was, in fact, valid. The king wished to proceed against both by bill of attainder; but it was quite obvious that More neither believed in the nun nor encouraged her, though the simplicity of the bishop of Rochester had been to some extent imposed upon. The point of interest, however, is that Henry found himself obliged to remove More's name from the bill of attainder, because he learnt that parliament would certainly throw out the bill unless he did so. Very distinctly there was a limit to the so-called subservience of the Reformation Parliament. The king had to be content with imposing only a mild penalty on Fisher.

The proceedings in parliament had hitherto been concerned with confirming the antipapal and anticlerical statutes, winding up the financial relations with Rome by abolishing all contributions, and giving the Submission of the Clergy a statutory shape, which definitely submitted the whole of the canons to the proposed committee, thereby in effect suspending their legal validity until the inquiry should take place. But now it was time to regulate the succession to the throne, since Queen Anne had borne a daughter in the previous September. An Act was passed, which rehearsed the grounds on which the marriage with Katharine had been pronounced void, and vested the succession in Anne's offspring. But to the Act was appended an instruction, under which all the king's subjects might be required to take an oath accepting the Act; and a commission was issued to receive the oath. Precisely at this moment the news was received that Clement had pronounced

The Act of Succession.

the marriage with Katharine to be valid and that with Anne Boleyn to be void.

When the oath was submitted to More and Fisher both of them refused to take it in the form presented, which professed acceptance of every word in the Act. They would undertake to obey the law; More laid it down that it was within the power of parliament to fix the course of the succession, and the duty of all loyal subjects to obey, but no subject was bound to approve or to profess approval of the reasons on account of which the law had been made. Neither More nor Fisher would profess to believe that the marriage had been void from the beginning. Cranmer, who never fathomed the king's purposes, hoped that Henry would be satisfied with this modified form of the oath—which was of no use to the monarch and Cromwell. What they wanted was to force the two Englishmen with a European reputation to commit themselves to his side. Cromwell wanted them to yield; but the only alternative to their yielding was their destruction. More and Fisher were sent to the Tower. The heads of certain monastic houses who threatened to follow these illustrious examples were temporarily terrorised into submission.

More and Fisher imprisoned.

Meanwhile Convocation had responded to the papal fulmination by declaring that 'the bishop of Rome had in England no greater jurisdiction than any other foreign bishop.' Thus did the Church of England pronounce its own separation from the Church of Rome, already pronounced with emphasis by the State. The parliament had other matters to concern itself with; for Cromwell was preparing a despotic reign of terror, and parliament itself was to forge the weapons. In an autumn session it supplemented the Annates Act, not by abolishing annates altogether, but by conveying them to the king instead of to the Pope. It passed the Act of the Supreme Head, which declared, without any saving clause, that the king was Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy in England. It expressly sanctioned the form of oath which had been submitted to More and Fisher, but which had not been expressly laid down in the Act of Succession.

Confirmatory acts.

Then the programme was completed by the new Treasons Act, which brought within the category of treason not merely the overt acts specified by the authoritative statute of Edward III., but also verbal treasons, expressions which might be interpreted as implying a treasonable intention, and—more fatal still—by inference, treasonous silence, the refusal to answer questions of an incriminating character. With such a weapon in his hands Cromwell could count with absolute certainty upon securing the doom of any person at whom he chose to strike. The clergy as a body had already learnt that they lay at the king's mercy; the nobles as a body had always been thoroughly subservient. In face of the Treasons Act, no individual could dare to offer opposition to the king without the consciousness that he was deliberately staking his life. There remained only the Commons, and the Commons would make no stand against the king unless he demanded their money. If their pockets were touched they could be obdurate; they had shown as much in 1532, when they flatly refused to pass the Bill of Wards, which was intended to put a stop to established practices, whereby the gentry were wont to make provision for their younger sons, to the detriment of the feudal overlord, and more particularly of the Royal Exchequer. But no attack was intended upon the pockets of the Commons—Cromwell had other prey in view; rather they were to be secured, by their own interests, as the loyal supporters of the Crown; and if the Crown was to be despotic, the way by which it should achieve despotism was to be cleared by parliamentary action.

New Treasons Act.

II. The Vicar-General, 1535-1540

The definite supremacy of Thomas Cromwell begins with his appointment as vicar-general—in other words, as the deputy of the Church's Supreme Head—in January 1535; though the guiding intelligence in the king's policy had probably been his for a long time past, and his ascendency in the royal councils had recently been becoming more and more apparent. For the five ensuing years we may say that

1535. Cromwell dominant.

everything that was done was done by Cromwell, except in the rare cases where Henry chose to thwart him for purposes of his own. Henry's will was unmistakably supreme; he knew, and Cromwell knew, that he had but to move his finger to fling the minister into the abyss, and that he would make that movement without the smallest compunction if the minister crossed him in the slightest degree. But in completing the work of the last years Cromwell was allowed to follow his own methods with very little interference, though, unlike Wolsey, he was not allowed to do so without keeping his master informed of every detail.

The finishing touch was still required for the Act of Supremacy. In April 1535 four priors, three being Carthusians, and one a Brigittine, were indicted for refusing to accept the Oath of Supremacy. They stood by their principles with resolute dignity, and duly died as traitors, being drawn, hanged, and quartered; to the public disgust, for all were men of eminent virtue. Then came the turn of More and Fisher. Neither of them could be induced to accept the Act of Supremacy. Fisher's fate was sealed by an injudicious act of the new pope, Paul III., who was apparently under the impression that Henry would be mollified by the elevation of the saintliest of English bishops to the cardinalate, which, in fact, only enraged the English king. Fisher was tried by a London jury, and with him were associated three more Carthusian monks. All were condemned; the bishop was beheaded, and the monks suffered in the usual barbarous fashion. Nine days later More was charged before a special commission. He also was duly condemned, and beheaded on 6th July.

The Carthusians.

More and Fisher executed.

The king, with the support of the episcopal bench and the willing or unwilling acquiescence of the clergy at large, was impregnating the country with the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy, inculcated from the pulpits, while the discussion of the subject in any other form was forbidden. But the time had now come for developing the great raid upon ecclesiastical property. The warrant was to be found partly in excessive endowments, partly in a sweeping condemnation of

Against the monasteries.

monastic establishments which should warrant their suppression. The wealth of the Church was enormous, and was greatly exaggerated in the popular imagination. Ever since the days of Wiclif, and especially in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the gentry represented in the House of Commons had shown a disposition to urge the substitution of a very heavy taxation or confiscation of ecclesiastical property for demands upon the pockets of the laity. The greed of monastic landlords had more recently been denounced in unmeasured terms, which certainly bore very little relation to the facts; but in the south-eastern quarter of England they would seem to have been as tenacious in enforcing technical rights, as unscrupulous in wresting the law to their own advantage, as commercial in extending enclosures, as the laity. In those counties they were still, as they had been a hundred and fifty years before, unpopular with the peasantry, though evidently this was not the case in the north and the west. But the government was much less amenable to influences from those remoter regions. In the district which counted most, more than all the rest put together, the spoliation of monasteries would not arouse resentment among the peasantry; and it would save the pockets of the gentry, whose support would be assured at least if they received a share of the spoils. To the charge of greed were added general charges of laxity and immorality in the monastic establishments. In the reign of Henry VII., Cardinal Morton found flagrant immorality prevalent in certain of the greater houses, yet could not venture upon stringent measures for the enforcement of discipline. In the numerous small establishments it was obvious that, if corruption once entered the gates, they might easily become centres of moral disease. Many of the houses were exempt, that is, were not liable to episcopal visitation, and were subject to the control only of Superiors of their own order. Cardinal Wolsey, in search of funds for his educational foundations, had suppressed a few small houses, and exempt monasteries had already been placed under the royal control by an act of parliament in 1532.

Their unpopularity in the south-east.

Their indiscipline.

It was upon this basis that the vicar-general in 1535 instituted his great visitation of the monasteries, over-riding episcopal visitations. He appointed commissioners to inquire into the conditions of the religious houses, and to impose upon them disciplinary injunctions so strict that they were probably intended to be found intolerable, in order that the inmates might be driven to a voluntary surrender or dissolution. The agents chosen, however—Layton and Leigh—were not men of distinguished piety. They set about their task of inquiry with the obvious intention of accumulating all the hostile evidence available and ignoring what was favourable. They had neither time nor inclination to think of sifting and weighing it, and they displayed a most unholy glee in the collection of unsavoury scandals. In six months they completed their work of visitation, accompanied by illuminating memoranda to Cromwell, the whole of the results being recorded in a report called the Black Book. Unfortunately the Black Book disappeared at a later date. Each side accused the other of having destroyed it; the one because the evidence damned itself, the other because it damned the monasteries. We do not know whether the evidence was actually laid before parliament; we do not know what passed in the debate. But the outcome was that an Act was passed for the suppression of all monasteries of less than £200 a year, on the general principle that the small house system was rotten. When the instruction was carried out exemption was granted in a few cases. The numbers are variously stated, but approximately some three hundred communities were suppressed. It may be remarked that, on the showing of the commissioners, there was a vast amount of unspeakable corruption. How much precisely that showing ought to be discounted is another question, which we have no means of deciding; but it is not possible to escape the conviction that among the smaller monasteries most were in very evil case, and that even if the predilections of the commissioners had been as favourable as they were hostile, the case for the suppression of the system would have been more than adequate. Nevertheless, however damning the evidence might

The visitation.

1536. The smaller monasteries dissolved.

be, confiscation could be justified only by the appropriation of the funds to public purposes, to which, in fact, a mere fraction was devoted. The spoils were absorbed in the gratification of private individuals.

For a moment our attention must turn again to the king and his wives. In January 1536 Katharine died. Four months afterwards Queen Anne had been beheaded, and Henry had married Jane Seymour. Marriage had cooled the king's passion for his second wife, who had not delivered him from his old predicament. He was still without a male heir, though he had one illegitimate son. Cooling affections developed into strong aversion; moreover, the king had fallen in love with a young lady of unassailable virtue. Opportunely he was 'informed' that the queen was guilty of grave misconduct. She was tried for treason on the basis of a series of detestable charges before a court on whose verdict Henry could rely with confidence, though ostensibly it might have been expected to favour Anne. It condemned her to death; though Archbishop Cranmer could not understand why, and pleaded the unhappy woman's cause with his master. Yet the archbishop himself presided over another court which pronounced the marriage with Anne void from the beginning, avowedly on the ground that she had been precontracted. It is probable that the real reason, not fit for publication, lay in Henry's earlier relations with Anne's mother and sister, though here again there is a hiatus in the evidence. But both Katharine and Anne were dead before Henry married Jane Seymour, and there could at least be no question that if the new queen should bear him a son that son would be beyond all dispute legitimate.

The end of Anne Boleyn.

A third wife.

The pronouncement of Archbishop Cranmer's court had, of course, relegated the little Princess Elizabeth to the same category as her elder half-sister Mary. The law had declared both of them to be illegitimate. Until another child should be born the only legitimate heir-presumptive to the throne was Henry's nephew, King James of Scotland. The question of the future succession was still painfully problematical, but in one direction the political atmosphere had been cleared. Katharine's

death had removed the hitherto insurmountable obstacle to a *rapprochement* between Henry and the emperor.

The parliament which had given its sanction to the ecclesiastical revolution was dissolved in April; a new assembly was summoned for June, with due attention to the packing of it. Its business was to settle the succession on the offspring of the new marriage, and to pass an Act authorising the king to lay down the course of the succession in case of the failure of heirs of his body. Power was also conveyed to the hypothetical heir to abrogate, when he came of age, any Acts of parliament passed after his accession but during his minority.

A new parliament.

The attack on the monasteries had intensified the feeling of unrest. There was a general sense that orthodoxy required clearer definition. Wiclifite, Lutheran, and Zwinglian doctrines were being propounded, while no one knew what was and what was not heretical. There were other martyrs besides the Carthusians; Anabaptist was the term usually applied to those who were by common consent heretics. John Frith had died three years before for maintaining the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and at the same time declaring that a sound opinion upon an abstruse point of theology could not be necessary to salvation; but the public at large were still in the stage of demanding to be told what it was lawful for them to believe, and of being quite ready to suppress by the most drastic methods the profession of any beliefs which were pronounced unlawful. Even the individual did not go beyond claiming freedom of conscience for himself and for those who were in precise agreement with him. But there was a conservative dread of innovations which required to be allayed, and the mere vehemence of controversy had its dangers.

Doctrinal uncertainty.

So in 1536 an eirenicon was produced which was fathered by the Supreme Head himself. It was called the 'Ten Articles for Stablishing Christian Quietness,' and it was accepted without demur both by parliament and by Convocation. Broadly speaking, it recognised no innovating doctrines and affirmed the recognised view on sundry disputable

The Ten Articles.

points. But it definitely marked a distinction between matters on which diversity of opinion was permissible and those on which it was not, and between practices which were essential and those which were ordained only because they were 'convenient.' But what gave the new departure its special character was that it emanated from the royal authority, not from any clerical source, though it received the approval of Convocation.

The vicar-general took another step in the direction of Protestantism. Order was made that every church should have an English Bible, although as yet there was no authorised version, and for the teaching of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer in English. Although Coverdale's Bible, a translation based upon the Latin version or Vulgate and Luther's German edition, appeared at this time, it was not till the next year that the definitely authorised version called Matthew's Bible was approved, based upon Tyndale's version, which was taken not for the most part from the Vulgate but from the Greek of the New Testament and the Hebrew of the Old. The point of these new renderings was that a more accurate terminology was adopted, free from the stereotyped association of the old terminology.

The Bible in English.

The Articles did not immediately 'establish Christian quietness.' The north was less amenable to the new influences than the south, and the north much more than the south resented the attack on the monasteries, which were popular there. A sixth of the suppressed communities belonged to Yorkshire, and the rest of the northern houses were seriously alarmed, not only by the precedent, but also by the rigorous disciplinary injunctions which had been issued to them. The gentry of the north were at the same time perturbed by one of the last Acts of the Reformation Parliament, the Statute of Uses, which had interfered with their powers of bequest. About Michaelmas an indefinite insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire. It was not intended as a defiance of the law, it was not an organised rebellion, it was merely a popular protest against the methods of Cromwell's commissioners. It collapsed as soon as Suffolk appeared on the scene with some royalist

The Lincolnshire rising, September.

troops; a royal proclamation rated the 'base and brutish' county in very uncomplimentary terms, and a few examples were made. But the Lincolnshire rising was only the prelude to the very much more serious insurrection called the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The northern counties rose almost *en masse*, not against the king, but against the policy which was supposed to be incarnated in Cromwell, Cranmer, and the reforming bishops. Robert Aske, a successful London lawyer, who was also a member of a good Yorkshire family, and who happened to be in Yorkshire at the time, found himself called upon, not of his own initiative, to take a leading part in the organisation of the movement, and at once became its brain and its moving spirit. Before the end of October Aske had an efficient army of thirty thousand men at his back, including half the lords and the gentry of the north; the great towns, such as York and Hull, had submitted, recruits were coming in every day, and the force had advanced almost as far south as Doncaster, where by this time a much smaller army of royalists had been collected by Norfolk. Norfolk had no inclination to risk a battle; Aske was no rebel, and was zealous to avoid bloodshed. Norfolk parleyed, the demands of the insurgents were formulated; Norfolk hinted at approbation, and sent the Articles south to be laid before the king. The king himself sent his answer, dealing with the Articles point by point in a very skilful document. Delegates of the insurgent body met at York, discussed the answer, and formulated their demands afresh, with precise details instead of generalities. They carried their proposals to Norfolk. Norfolk could not see his way to break them up either by force or by intrigue. He promised that a parliament should be held in the north and a free pardon granted. Army and leaders took his word, and dispersed with joyful acclamations of loyalty.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, October.

Even Henry's adaptable conscience could not simply repudiate Norfolk's promise the moment the rebels had dispersed. He sent for Aske himself, dealt with him benignly and confidentially, and sent him back to the north with a happy belief that the king

intended to keep his word. The king was only waiting for an excuse to break it, and that excuse was provided by a few hot-heads, whose suspicions could not be lulled. In defiance of Aske and the other leaders they attempted unsuccessfully to seize Scarborough. A word from Aske would have made the insurrection general, but he exerted himself instead to prevent anything of the kind from happening. He and those who stood with him were rewarded by being arrested, carried off to London, and executed. There was no more power of resistance. Obviously the clergy had had a large share in stirring up the Pilgrimage; they paid the penalty. Some dozen abbots and priors were attainted, and the houses over which they had presided were dissolved. Martial law was proclaimed, and there was a long series of executions. Rebellion was crushed, the power of Cromwell and the influence of the advanced bishops were confirmed; the doom of the remaining monasteries had been brought nearer. But the Pilgrimage of Grace had another result of lasting importance. From time immemorial the northern counties had been a danger zone for the central government, partly because of their remoteness, partly because the neighbourhood of Scotland gave them a permanently military character. A special government, the Council of the North, was now organised; a council consisting not of nobles but of commoners, with the bishop of Durham for their first president; a council appointed and maintained by the king, and responsible directly to him, which conducted practically the whole of the administration of the north.

1537. **End of the Pilgrimage.**

The Council of the North.

The suppression of a revolt in which religion had been the primary motive was followed up by the publication of what was called the *Bishops' Book*, or officially the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which might be regarded as supplementary to the Ten Articles. It did not depart from the earlier formulary, but covered more ground; it was the work of the ecclesiastics, and it was issued with the king's permission.

The Bishops' Book.

Almost immediately afterwards there came a double event,

which somewhat affected the European as well as the domestic situation. The queen gave birth to a son, the unquestioned heir to the English throne, and having thus done her principal duty died, leaving Henry free to marry again, and to make a political marriage; for the baby, Edward, was scarcely a sufficient guarantee for an untroubled succession. Hitherto Henry had had enough on his hands to make him desire nothing more than the discouragement of any threatenings of friendship between the king of France and the emperor. Therefore he had not fallen in either with Cranmer's desire for a closer religious union with the German Lutherans or with Cromwell's political desire for a league with the Lutheran princes—the statesman's chief motive for favouring the more advanced party in the Church. But now questions of foreign alliances were to become more prominent, and in those questions matrimonial proposals played their part—disastrously, as it proved in the long run, to Henry's minister. For the present, however, Cromwell's projects were in the background. Henry had no Wolsey to conduct his diplomacy, and his own efforts in that field were not crowned with success. He coquetted with proposals which were to draw closer the bonds between himself and one or other of the two great continental monarchs. The result was that he lost his chances with both, and was deeply chagrined when they concluded a treaty of amity in 1538 without consulting him in the matter or paying any regard to his interests.

Birth of an heir, October.

Foreign affairs.

Overt resistance to the Crown had received its death-blow with the Pilgrimage of Grace. The country as a whole was on the king's side, and the great majority of the clergy at least professed to be so. As a rule, there was no love lost between 'regulars' and 'seculars,' and the secular clergy viewed the suppression and spoliation of monasteries with comparative equanimity. Nevertheless, there existed an element hostile to the whole of the king's policy, and a very large element which was extremely hostile to Cromwell, besides the not inconsiderable element which dreaded and detested the New Learning—a term applying specifically to the new religious

Elements of disaffection.

teaching, not to the new learning which had been exemplified by such men as More and Colet. Outside the country, the denunciatory attitude had been vigorously taken up by Reginald Pole,[1] a grandson of George of Clarence, the brother of Edward IV. Cromwell resolved on another blow, which should finally terrorise all opposition. The country was sown with his spies, who never had any difficulty in producing evidence of that verbal treason which had been introduced into English law by the recent statute.

As matters now stood, Henry had one legitimate son and heir. After the boy stood the children of Henry's sisters: Margaret's son, James V. of Scotland, her daughter by her marriage with Angus, and the two daughters of the second sister, Mary, by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. There was no possibility that disaffection would make a figurehead of Henry's nephew or of any of his three nieces. But there were other families which stood near the throne, the Courtenays and the Poles. The Courtenays descended from Edward IV. himself, the Poles from his brother, George of Clarence. These latter must be carefully distinguished from the de la Poles, who were now extinct. The head of the Courtenays was the marquis of Exeter, the most powerful noble of the west country, whose father had married Katharine, the second daughter of Edward IV. The head of the Poles, Lord Montague, the elder brother of Reginald and Geoffrey Pole, was the son of the now aged Margaret, countess of Salisbury, daughter of George of Clarence and sister of that earl of Warwick whom Henry VII. had put to death. She had been married to a certain Sir Richard Pole, who was in no way connected with the de la Poles. It was conceivable that a combination of Courtenays and Poles might be dangerous to the Tudor monarchy, if that monarchy became sufficiently unpopular. It is even conceivable that the marquis of Exeter contemplated the possibility of his own succession to the throne.

The Courtenays and Poles.

Nevertheless, Cromwell's discovery of a plot between Exeter and Montague can only be looked upon as a device for inspiring

[1] See Genealogies, II.

terror and an excuse for smiting the kinsmen of the troublesome Reginald, who stood so high in the favour of the Pope that he received the cardinal's hat. There was sufficient evidence of hasty expressions and discontent on the part of the accused lords to pass for proofs of verbal treason. At the end of 1538 both were executed, and the old countess of Salisbury was shut up in the Tower, to suffer a like vindictive doom some two years later. The conspiracy and its suppression prepared the way for Cromwell to complete his work in the parliament of 1539, the most obedient to the Crown that had been summoned. Some of the greater monasteries spared by the Act of 1536 had perished as being implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Others were doomed as being implicated in the treason of the Courtenays and the Poles. Others were surrendering voluntarily, as a lesser evil than actual suppression, or overburdened by the rigour with which Cromwell's disciplinary injunctions were enforced. Cromwell waited no longer, and an Act was passed suppressing the monasteries altogether. Then the Royal Proclamations Act gave the royal power its last extension. Royal proclamations were henceforth to have the force of law. But there was still a limit to absolutism. Except in the case of heresy, proclamations should not take effect against life, liberty, or property.

1538. Cromwell strikes.

1539. Dissolution of the greater monasteries.

But on another side Cromwell and the advanced reformers met with a rebuff. Recent successes had inspired a hope of the admission of the new doctrines favoured by the advanced bishops—Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, and others. There had been conferences with Lutheran divines from Germany. Cranmer was zealous for some unification with the other antipapal churches; Cromwell wanted at least such an understanding with the Lutheran princes as might counteract tendencies to union between Charles and Francis. But Henry was not to be shaken from his orthodoxy. Six Articles were submitted by the king, for discussion by the bishops in the House of Lords. In the debate the bishops expressed the courage of their convictions, but the advanced party were completely

The Six Articles.

defeated when Henry himself contributed the last word to the discussion. The Act of the Six Articles was passed, affirming the truth of Transubstantiation, the duty of observing vows of chastity, the unlawfulness of the marriage of priests, and commanding auricular confession, prayers for the dead, and Communion in one kind only for the laity, under merciless penalties. The archbishop himself, who was a married man, was obliged to part from his wife. Latimer and Shaxton refused to conform, and were deprived of their sees; Cranmer was ready to conform without surrendering his personal opinion, which on various points was opposed to the Articles, though with regard to Transubstantiation there was no diversity. The Act was never rigidly enforced, but the mere fact that it stood upon the statute-book was a great triumph for the Reaction.

The Act of the Six Articles was a warning to Cromwell that his influence was limited, but he still held what might have proved to be a winning card. The signs were ominous of a dangerously close alliance between the emperor, France, and the Papacy. In the spring of 1539 the air was full of rumours of an intended invasion of England by the two great powers. The actual solidarity of the country, in spite of plots, discontents, and sporadic disaffection, was demonstrated by the energy which was thrown into preparations for defence against any attack; the hostile armadas melted away when the powers saw that they could hope for nothing from domestic dissensions in England. Still, the circumstances gave the more colour to Cromwell's favourite project of a Protestant League. The duke of Cleves was, like Henry himself, at once orthodox and antipapalist; he had not joined the Schmalkaldic League of Lutheran princes, but his political interests were forcing him into close association with them. Cromwell impressed upon his master the political advantage of dropping his other matrimonial projects and marrying the duke's sister. But the minister forgot to give due weight to the necessity for satisfying the king's expert critical taste. The lady, Anne of Cleves, was past thirty, a stout, simple-minded, plain, half-educated *haus-frau*. He imagined that if Henry could be

The Cleves marriage project.

persuaded into the match these drawbacks could be ignored after the marriage was accomplished. Misleading reports and a much flattered portrait of Anne by Holbein procured a somewhat reluctant royal assent to an alliance which seemed politically promising. In the autumn the marriage treaty was signed, and at the turn of the year the bride was forwarded to England. Henry's æsthetic susceptibilities received a painful shock; still, the thing had to be gone through with. He married Anne, but his wrath was kindled against Cromwell.

To make matters worse, the hollowness of the amity between Charles and Francis was disclosed, showing that the marriage itself was superfluous from a political point of view.

1540. The fall of Cromwell.

The hopes of the minister's innumerable enemies beat high, yet for a moment they were terribly dashed. Cromwell's tottering favour seemed to be restored. He was made earl of Essex. He was entrusted with the packing and management of a new parliament. The king wanted one more service of him, the extraction of supplies. Probably no one but Cromwell would have succeeded in getting them. But the moment they were obtained the blow fell; Cromwell was arrested for treason at the council board, attainted under the treason law which he himself had forged, condemned, and executed. It is a curious comment on that time-serving cowardice with which Cranmer is commonly credited that the archbishop was the only man in the country who dared to plead for Cromwell, as once before he had been the only man who dared to plead with the king for Anne Boleyn. Yet, strangely enough, Cranmer was the one man with whom Henry was never angry. His protest, however, availed nothing. To one minister Henry owed it that England, in spite of a hopelessly defective military system, stood on an equal footing with France and the Empire; that minister had been thrown to the wolves for failing to procure for Henry the wife he wanted. Another minister had helped to rid the Crown of the papal allegiance, to ruin the political power of the Church, to destroy the last possibilities of aristocratic resistance, to establish a royal despotism through constitutional forms; that minister was remorselessly crushed

for providing the king with an unattractive spouse. Pity and sympathy are wasted upon Cromwell; with what measure he meted, it was measured to him again. But no king ever had more loyal servants than Wolsey and Cromwell, no king ever repaid such services more basely, more cynically than bluff King Hal.

Before we proceed to the account of Henry's last years, during which he reigned without a minister, we must turn from England itself to the other component portions of what is now the United Kingdom.

Wales had always stood outside the administrative system of England. Before the conquest by Edward I. it had played a troublesome part in English politics, because of the support which its princes had given now to one side and now to another during the discords between the Crown and the baronage. The marcher lordships had not wholly lost their character even after a portion of Wales had been annexed to the Crown as a principality, and the idea of Welsh nationalism had survived sufficiently to make Owen Glendower formidable in the reign of Henry IV. Welsh loyalty had become assured when a scion of the Welsh family of Tudor ascended the throne of England; but still Wales was not absorbed into the general system, and its government was exceedingly defective. It was under the general supervision of the Council of the Marches when Bishop Lee was appointed president in 1534. Endowed with special powers, he brought to a sudden and terrifying close the long period during which criminals had enjoyed a practical immunity. Owing to his representations the powers of the Council of the Marches were enlarged, the officers were made responsible to it, and the independent jurisdictions of the magnates were abolished. An Act was passed for the incorporation of Wales with England, the general establishment of the shire system, the abolition of such local customs as were not specially exempted by the king in council, and the representation of the Welsh counties and boroughs in the English parliament. English became the language of the law courts—lawyer's

Wales.

1536. Incorporation of Wales.

English, that is—and the rule was initiated of appointing Englishmen to the Welsh dioceses. The date of the Act of Union was 1536, though it took seven years to carry the new system to completion. The Council of Wales, however, like the Council of the North, remained in possession of exceptional powers under the control of the Crown.

Ireland.

In Ireland the fluctuations of Tudor policy were not equally successful. Henry VII. had arrived at the definite conclusion, after the passing of Poynings' Law and the disappearance of Perkin Warbeck, that the best and cheapest way of governing Ireland was to secure the goodwill of the great earl of Kildare, and then to leave him something like a free hand. Kildare himself repaid the royal confidence, and did not greatly abuse his powers. Henry had been right in saying that he was 'the man to rule all Ireland.' But Kildare's son, who succeeded him not long after Henry VIII.'s accession, lacked the old earl's very remarkable abilities. The conciliatory tone of the government had not been unsuccessful in pacifying the chiefs in general; but when the strong hand had been removed the private antagonisms of the great chiefs revived the old anarchical conditions. Ormond, the head of the Butlers, the family who divided with the two great branches of Geraldines, Kildare and Desmond, the ascendency in the south of Ireland, and were by tradition the leading loyalists, was very well pleased to be able to denounce the younger Kildare's inefficient administration; and in 1520 Surrey was sent over to assume the deputyship.

1520-33. Various deputies.

Surrey expressed his emphatic opinion that if Ireland was to be brought to order he must have an efficient force of six thousand men. Neither Wolsey nor Henry was inclined to superfluous expenditure on the other side of St. George's Channel, especially when there was a prospect of military operations on the other side of the English Channel. Surrey was recalled, a Butler was tried unsuccessfully as deputy, and then Kildare was reinstated. Kildare encouraged instead of checking the common tendency of the English in Ireland to assimilate themselves to the Irish. In 1526 the deputy was brought over to England and lodged in the Tower.

Irish vice-deputies proved vain, and in 1529 Kildare was allowed to return to Ireland to help a new English deputy, Skeffington. In three years' time Skeffington had found the place too much for him, and Kildare was again deputy. It appeared that he concerned himself not so much with the restoration of order as with harrying the Butlers; so in 1533 he was again summoned to England, leaving his son, popularly known as Silken Thomas, to act in his place.

Reports came that Kildare had been sent to the block; whereupon Thomas proclaimed himself the enemy of the king of England, and opened correspondence with the Pope and the emperor. His father's death in the Tower, not by the axe of the executioner, made Thomas himself earl of Kildare. He tried to strike a bargain with the Butlers, which was rejected; he attacked Dublin unsuccessfully. Skeffington returned to Ireland with reinforcements, as deputy. In the spring of the next year, 1535, the deputy captured the Geraldine fortress of Maynooth, and hanged most of the garrison —a proceeding commonly known as the 'pardon of Maynooth.' Thomas surrendered, under a vague promise of pardon, to Lord Leonard Grey, Kildare's kinsman by marriage, who had been sent to take Skeffington's place, not as deputy, but in the field. Soon afterwards Grey himself was made deputy. The unfortunate Thomas, whose life had been spared, according to promise, for the time, was not allowed to escape; after order had been restored he was executed, together with several of his uncles, at the beginning of 1536.

1533. Silken Thomas.

Grey suppressed by force the resistance which O'Neill tried to maintain in the north and Desmond in the south-west. But he was hostile to the pronouncedly English party in the Pale, who wanted to rule simply by the strong hand. The deputy preferred the theory of conciliating the turbulent chiefs, with scant regard to the interests of the loyalists. Disloyalty was aroused by the introduction in Ireland of Henry's ecclesiastical reformation; Grey's Geraldine connection proved fatal to him, since, in appearance if not in fact, he displayed undue leniency and favour to the

1535-46. Grey and St. Leger.

Fitzgeralds; and in 1540 he was summoned to England, to be attainted and executed. We may here anticipate matters by saying that for a brief spell after Grey's recall Ireland enjoyed the government of a deputy who understood the difficult art of combining firmness with conciliation, Anthony St. Leger. Under his judicious rule there was no more disturbance in Ireland, in spite of the dissolution of the monasteries, until the last year of King Henry's reign, when St. Leger gave place to Sir Edward Bellingham. In Ireland, as in England, the magnates were reconciled to Henry's ecclesiastical policy, largely by the extensive spoils which fell to their share. It was perhaps mainly to emphasise once more the repudiation of all papal authority that Henry in 1541 assumed the title of 'king' instead of 'lord' of Ireland; for the latter title, hitherto in use, had been bestowed upon Henry II. by the Pope, on the hypothesis that Ireland was an estate in the gift of the Holy See.

Our chronicle of affairs in Scotland was brought down to 1528, when the young king, James V., succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Douglases. The king was determined to establish his authority, and the friendly relations then subsisting between England and France forbade any open rupture between England and Scotland. He devoted himself to the suppression of the uncontrolled nobles and gentry of the border and of the highlands and islands. But the general effect produced was that when James had reached the age of one-and-twenty most of the lay magnates were ill disposed towards him, though he was personally popular with the commons; and he was driven into the closest alliance with the clergy, headed by Archbishop James Beaton. The old leaders of the nobility—Arran, Angus, and others—were dead or out of the way. Arran's successor, the heir-presumptive to the throne, had not become personally prominent. The general hostility of the magnates to the king inclined them to friendly relations with Henry, since James and the churchmen leaned, as always, to the French alliance.

1528-33. Scotland: James V.

In 1533 the relations between Henry and Francis were growing cool. Henry wanted James to follow his own example in his

treatment of the Papacy and of the Church; the Scottish clergy had none of the antipapal tendencies of their English brethren, and the last thing that James could have desired would be a breach with them. For the time being the kings both of France and England were in some degree suitors for the goodwill of the king of Scotland. But as time went on James fell increasingly under the influence of the clergy, who in their turn were increasingly hostile to England. Henry tried to draw James into a conference in 1536; James had a painful suspicion that his uncle intended to kidnap him, evaded the proposal, and next year went to France, where a marriage was arranged with the French princess, Madeleine. The marriage was carried out; but a few months afterwards the queen died, and James very much annoyed Henry by marrying Mary of Lorraine, one of the ablest of the able and powerful house of Guise, whom Henry was thinking of marrying himself.

1533-9. Henry, James, and Francis.

The marriage drew closer the alliance between Scotland and France, while the hostility of the Scottish government to England was intensified rather than weakened by the death of James Beaton and the succession of his nephew David, who had already been made a cardinal, to the archbishopric of St. Andrews and the leadership of the clerical party. It is to be observed that Cardinal Beaton was a bitter persecutor of heresy, as well as a relentless opponent of English influence. The most effective Scottish historians of the period were all vehement reformers, consequently they have no good word to say for the clerical party, its leaders, or its policy. Hence it is not altogether easy to disentangle the facts of Scottish history at this time, because none of its formal recorders made the slightest pretence of being anything but a virulent partisan; all were on the same side, and, as a matter of course, their views ran on the same lines as those of the English chroniclers, and with a not less decided bias.

Cardinal Beaton.

III. After Cromwell, 1540-1547

After Cromwell's fall it remained for Henry only to round off his ecclesiastical policy. He had gone as far as he meant to go in the direction of reform. There was still a little to be done in the way of appropriating endowments and in sanctioning the introduction of church services in the English tongue. The irreverence and violence of the spoliations, the destruction of abused images, the contempt thrown upon things hitherto held sacred, even if that sanctity had been due to palpable fraud and trickery, as happened often enough, had been deplorable; but the mischief was done, and its evil effects could hardly be increased. Henry moved no further either against the clerical party, which was headed by the astute bishop of Winchester, or against the reformers, still led by the primate. In 1543 the last formulary of the reign, *The King's Book*, finally laid down the rules of orthodoxy as understood by Henry, only somewhat more in detail than before. Cranmer retained the king's personal favour, and more than one attempt to ruin him recoiled upon the heads of his enemies. He was disappointed in his hope that what had been taken from the Church would be devoted to education, or other religious purposes.

1540-6. Marking time.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the spoliation is the melting away of the spoils. Some schools were endowed; the number of episcopal sees was increased by six, not by twenty, as at one time proposed; some of the money was appropriated for the navy and for coast defence, objects in which Henry took a keen personal interest. That was all that the State had to show. It is easy, to exaggerate in denouncing the extent to which the monastic lands were appropriated merely to the private advantage of individuals. Great estates were undoubtedly given away, but the bulk of the abbey lands were sold, and sold at a respectable price; it is difficult to see why purchasers should be held to blame even if they disapproved of the spoliation. It was another matter for those who received monastic lands as a free gift or at a merely nominal

Distribution of the spoils.

price. But it is not easy to see why so little was done with the purchase money until we realise that expenditure had enormously outrun the national revenue; for, by purchase money and from the lands which were not granted away, large sums came into the treasury. We must also perhaps modify our reproaches, in respect of the amount which actually was given away, by the consideration that both the nobility and the gentry would probably have been much less inclined to bestow their support on the Crown if they had not been mollified by a substantial share of the booty. That is an excuse not, of course, for the spoliation itself, but for the very small benefit derived from it by the public at large. And yet it may fairly be held that in the long run the State did benefit through the creation of a new body of landed gentry, who in the second and third generations became to no small extent repositories of the liberties of parliament.

The further tale of Henry's matrimonial adventures, which formed so prominent a feature of his life, may be briefly reviewed. With the help of the bishops Henry found no difficulty in setting aside the marriage with Anne of Cleves on the ground of a precontract. The lady acquiesced cheerfully, and passed the remainder of her days in England, comfortably pensioned. Her brother, the duke, was extremely angry, and the fiasco put an end to all prospect of alliance with the Protestant League; but for this Henry cared little so long as there was no fear of the emperor's closer friendship with France. Still, in England it appeared unsatisfactory that there should be no direct legitimate heirs of the king's body except one delicate little boy. The Norfolk connection, backed by Gardiner and the clericals, took the risk of providing the king with a new wife in the person of the duke's pretty young niece, Katharine Howard. It was an unfortunate selection, for the Howards had taken no care of the girl's upbringing; scandalous liaisons were brought to light, and the unhappy girl was beheaded. The Howards never quite recovered from the false move. A little later Henry took to himself from the other party his last wife, Katharine Parr, a blameless widow, somewhat addicted to the New Learning, tactful and even-tempered, who succeeded

1540-7. **The king's wives.**

in preserving the royal goodwill in spite of more than one anxious moment, and in surviving her husband.

But Henry had no more children.[1] The power which had been conferred upon him of laying down the course of the succession at his will was duly exercised, but he judiciously referred his ruling to parliament for the approval which it, of course, obtained in 1544. The young Prince Edward and the heirs of his body necessarily stood first. The two illegitimate daughters whom Henry had begotten under the impression that he was a properly married man were to stand next, first Mary and then Elizabeth, though there was no formal legitimation of either. Then came the offspring of Henry's younger sister Mary, duchess of Suffolk, who was given precedence over the elder sister Margaret, presumably on grounds of public policy. For Margaret's Stewart son was the king of Scots, and her Douglas daughter was the wife of a Scottish nobleman, Matthew, earl of Lennox, who in the line of Scottish succession stood next to the Hamiltons of Arran—since his grandmother was the sister of the first earl of Arran, whom we saw playing a prominent part in Scottish politics during the minority of James v. From these complications much trouble was to arise later. Pure legitimists, if they were also Romanist, would necessarily recognise Henry's own daughter Mary as next in succession to Edward; but, after Mary Tudor, the Scottish royal family stood first and the Lennox Stewarts second. On no legitimist theory, Protestant or Romanist, was it by any means possible to give precedence over the Stewarts of either family, either to the children of Mary Brandon or to Elizabeth, unless the judgment of the law courts, which had pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn void, should be reversed; and in the eyes of a Romanist even such a reversal would be invalid. But again, if the Stewarts were barred as aliens, it would be possible to assert the Brandon claim as against either of the two princesses whom the English law courts had branded as illegitimate; and we shall find this line actually being taken by one faction on the demise of Edward vi.

The succession laid down.

[1] See Genealogies, iii. and iv.

We may now turn to the Scottish and the European policy, which most prominently occupy the closing years of Henry's life. When Cromwell fell Charles was preparing to modify the Protestant League by an attitude of toleration towards Lutheranism. Cromwell's plan of coercing him by the union of England with the Protestant princes was dead, but, so long as the emperor was not strenuously papalist, friendly relations were possible between England and the Empire. On the other hand, the policy both of the Scottish and of the French government was tightening the alliance between those two countries. Henry wished to disengage Scotland, but James and Beaton both had too good ground for suspecting Henry's honesty to listen to the voice of the charmer. James would not meet Henry at a conference, where there would be a risk of his being kidnapped; while Henry was disposed to encourage the scheme of the English warden of the marches for entrapping his nephew even without a conference. There was much miscellaneous raiding on the borders; in the summer of 1542 a band of English raiders was roughly dealt with at Haddon Rigg. In the autumn the English took their revenge in a week's invasion. In December James had got together a large force for a counter-invasion. Ten thousand men, without organisation and without a general in command, marched down to the border. At the last moment an incompetent favourite of the king's, Oliver Sinclair, was named general-in-chief; none of the nobles had any inclination to obey him. Wharton, the English warden of the marches, had notice in time to collect a well-organised body of about three thousand men. The Scots became entangled in Solway Moss, and met with utter disaster. The ignominious character of the conflict may be gauged by the fact that while half a dozen Englishmen and a score of Scots were killed on the field, twelve hundred Scots, including a number of the nobles, were taken prisoners, and the Scottish army was completely dispersed. The disgrace killed James, but not till his wife had borne to him the daughter destined to be the most dramatic figure in the dramatic line of the house of Stuart (the form of the name

Foreign policy.

December 1542. Solway Moss.

Mary Queen of Scots.

of Stewart introduced from France by Mary), Mary Queen of Scots.

Mary's birth gave Henry his cue. He had been audacious enough to reassert the ancient claim of English kings to the suzerainty of Scotland. But the union of the countries might be accomplished by a less troublesome method than conquest, the marriage of the baby queen to his own little son. The prisoners from Solway Moss were amenable as long as they were in captivity, and were ready to promise that the scheme should be carried out. When they were allowed to return to Scotland their promises proved entirely valueless. The Scots Estates did not decline the proposed marriage altogether, but they entirely rejected the accompanying conditions, which would have placed Scotland under English control until the children were old enough to be married, and still more so afterwards. However much the Scots might quarrel among themselves, however deeply individuals might pledge themselves to Henry, it was certain now, as always, that the moment subjection to England became an imminent danger, the spirit of Scottish nationalism would win the day.

Moreover, Henry was drawn away from a direct attack on Scotland by the treaty which he now made with the emperor against Francis, whose active encouragement of the Scots had been to a great extent responsible for the recent troubles. Charles and Henry bound themselves to declare war upon Francis if he attacked either of them, and to continue the war till terms satisfactory to both should be obtained. Francis, having failed to buy Henry off, attacked Flanders; English troops invaded Picardy, and a campaign was arranged for 1544, when Charles and Henry were each to invade France and to converge upon Paris. The enormous outlay upon this last of Henry's wars exhausted the supplies which had poured into the Treasury from the dissolution of the monasteries, and plunged the kingdom into the desperate financial straits from which it only emerged under the rigid Elizabethan policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform.

1543. **Alliance with the emperor.**

Before the opening of the combined attack upon France, Henry

gave Scotland another turn. An English force was dispatched by sea, and landed at Leith. Its commander was Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the uncle of the Prince of Wales. Hertford sacked Leith, pillaged Edinburgh, ravaged the neighbouring country, and retired to England, leaving devastation behind him. Henry preferred leaving anarchy to attempting the establishment of an English government. It is remarkable that his great nineteenth-century apologist even goes so far as to defend him for encouraging, without positively sanctioning, a plot which failed for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

1544. Hertford in Scotland.

In the summer and autumn of 1544 the French war was active. But Henry's views for the conduct of the campaign did not coincide with those of Charles. He would not march on Paris until he had taken Boulogne and Montreuil. Charles found it convenient for himself to make terms on his own account with Francis at Crépy, five days after Henry had taken Boulogne. Henry had reproaches for Charles which were not unjustified; but though he was left alone he insisted on the retention of Boulogne as a condition of peace.

War with France.

Thus in 1545 England was engaged in a war single-handed with the French; and the Scots were able to rally sufficiently to inflict a severe defeat upon an English force at Ancrum Moor. The emperor was becoming definitely hostile, and Francis took the offensive. He prepared a great armada for an invasion; but the English navy was the favourite object of the English king's fostering care. Neither French nor English could bring the enemy to an engagement under favourable conditions, and the French fleet was finally broken up by a plague epidemic. Hertford paid another devastating visit to Scotland; it was evident that England was not on the verge of collapse, and in 1546 a treaty of peace was signed between Francis and Henry. Boulogne was to remain in English hands for eight years, the period allowed for France to pay up the English financial claims, which had been among the professed causes of the war. And at the same time Henry's cause appeared to have triumphed in Scotland, when

1545. England isolated.

1546. Peace.

Cardinal Beaton was assassinated without any actual implication of the king of England.

But Henry's career was almost ended. Around him intrigues were active on every side for capturing the government of the country when Henry himself should be dead; for all men knew save perhaps himself that his life was a matter of months. Henry made his own dispositions by will in accordance with the Act of parliament, appointing a Council of Executors in which the parties were fairly evenly balanced, which was to carry on the government during Edward's minority. Yet even now there was one disturbing episode. The earl of Surrey, the son of the duke of Norfolk, was also the grandson of that duke of Buckingham whom Henry had executed. The blood of Edward III. ran in his veins. He had developed the idea that his father had a right to the regency; perhaps he had still more ambitious intentions. At any rate the charge of treason was brought against him and his father. The Howards and their strongest ally, Gardiner, who would perhaps have dominated the Council of Executors, disappeared from the chosen list. Surrey was beheaded, and sentence of death was already pronounced upon Norfolk when Henry died on 28th January 1547.

The end of Henry, Jan. 1547.

Estimates of the character of Henry VIII. are more violently divergent than those concerned with any other of our rulers. In the popular view, his unique matrimonial record occupies the most prominent position. He is thought of as a tyrant with a sort of geniality which, nevertheless, made him popular; a tyrant who left the work of government to ministers upon whom he trampled as soon as they crossed some private inclination of his own. Yet one of our most brilliant historians does not stand alone in elevating him to an extraordinarily high rank among great rulers and great reformers. The man who set England free from the shackles of Rome would seem in the eyes of this school to be a hero who could do no wrong, whose opponents must be condemned with righteous indignation, or at best with contempt slightly tinged with pity. To a third school he was merely the hateful tyrant

Estimates of his character.

whose reign was one long sacrilege. To a fourth he was a feeble, obstinate, and vain prince, always managed by one or another of the astute and capable men who surrounded him, strong only with the strength which was the fabrication of his ministers, vicious and shortsighted.

Some characteristics.

Something different from all these must have been the character of the real Henry. No mere courtly flatteries would account for the extraordinarily high estimate of his intellectual and physical brilliancy, and his high moral promise, formed at the outset of his reign. The brilliant prince was determined to be a great and famous king, the leader of a great and famous nation. But his qualities were marred by an ingrained selfishness and vanity, and he was cursed with a most dangerous kind of conscience—the conscience which can invariably prove that its owner will fail to do his duty unless he does the thing which he would like to do. Henry was not a far-sighted statesman; he did not see whither his course of action would lead him. But twice at least he displayed a remarkable skill in choosing his servants, and wisdom in the latitude of action which he gave them. Except when he was allowing Wolsey or Cromwell to act according to their own judgment, Henry's government never displayed remarkable intelligence or capacity; yet it was always directed to the magnification of the power of the State, though always on the theory formulated later by the Grand Monarque—*L'état c'est moi*. No mere tyrant has ever ruled with unchallenged supremacy for eight-and-thirty years. No hero-king has directed a political revolution in order to gratify a private passion. Henry was neither a fool nor a hero, but he was an exceptionally powerful personality, served by ministers who were exceptionally able and exceptionally loyal. He made England a Protestant nation, not because he intended to do so but because the Pope would not do as he wished, and because the spoliation of the Church diminished the necessity for taxing the people at large. He made the country Protestant, inasmuch as the old system of religion could not survive the revolt from Rome and the depression of the clerical body. In this he was in the main sup-

His achievement.

ported by popular opinion; the unpopularity which sometimes assumed a threatening aspect sprang from sympathy with Katharine and dislike of Anne Boleyn much more than from affection for the Papacy or sympathy with the clergy. The spirit of Protestantism, though not as yet its dogmatic beliefs, was predominant in the country; and Henry's policy assured its triumph, though without any such intention on Henry's part. It is a curious paradox that the most powerful agent in bringing about the Reformation in England was the man who prided himself on his theological orthodoxy, and that the most despotic of English monarchs prepared the way for making public opinion the controlling factor in national policy.

CHAPTER V. THE STRUGGLE OF THE REFORMATION, 1547-1558

I. EDWARD VI., 1547-1553

THE death of Henry VIII. left the country with a boy of nine for its king, an empty treasury, the great problem of the national religion unsettled, and with no leading statesman of sufficient authority to direct the settlement. To complicate matters, discontent and depression in the rural districts, already grievous, had been intensified by the abolition of the monasteries and the activity of the new landlords. Moreover, the succession to the throne was fixed upon the two daughters of the late king in succession, both of whom were, in the eyes of the law, illegitimate; while even if one or both of the decisions of the courts were reversed, the legitimacy of the one daughter was entirely incompatible with the legitimacy of the other, since the mother of the first was still living when the second was born.

Feb. 1547. The position.

The actual government of the country was by the late king's will, authorised by Act of parliament, vested in what was officially called a Council of Executors, though the genuineness of the actual document produced was open to some doubt. Whatever Henry's original intentions may have been, the strength of the council lay entirely with the men who were more or less declared partisans of the New Learning, as were the tutors in charge of the youthful king. Bishop Gardiner, the Howards, and their personal connection were all excluded; Norfolk himself remained in prison, though Henry's death had saved his life. The gentle Bishop Tunstall, who was no fighter, represented ecclesiastical conservatism; the laymen on the same side were far from being zealots. The young king's uncle, the earl of

The council.

Hertford, the most distinguished soldier of the time, was supported by John Dudley, Lord Lisle, as well as by Archbishop Cranmer. The council at once proceeded to distribute honours among themselves: Hertford became duke of Somerset; Lisle was made earl of Warwick, though he is best known by the title of Duke of Northumberland, which he appropriated some years afterwards; and Somerset was proclaimed Protector. For two years and a half the Protector regarded himself almost as a dictator; for the rest of the reign, Warwick or Northumberland was supreme.

Character of the reign.

Until comparatively recent times it has perhaps been customary to treat the six and a half years of Edward VI. as a halcyon time of Protestant progress or an orgy of Calvinistic iconoclasm, according to the historian's predilections; but as a matter of fact the two periods into which it is divided by the fall of Somerset have points of contrast much more marked than their points of resemblance. Somerset was a dreamer, an idealist with visions far in advance of his time; a man of culture and ability, who had also won some distinction as a leader of armies. Unfortunately he was also greedy, inordinately vain, and thoroughly unpractical; one who believed that difficulties would vanish at his fiat, and that every one must recognise his wisdom and justice. Consequently his rule was a disastrous failure, whereas if he had understood the business of adapting the means at his disposal to the ends he had in view, he might have figured in history as one of the great English rulers. For more than any other statesman of his time he had grasped that idea of an incorporating union with Scotland which was not realised until the eighteenth century; he sought to do away with the methods of tyranny; he sought to grapple with the rural problem; and he stood alone in actually advocating toleration. If Somerset had had his way there would have been no persecution on account of religion.

Somerset.

But in every field the Protector's methods frustrated his ends. The first problem was that of Scotland; the means to union lay in the marriage of King Edward to his cousin Queen Mary, who was now four years old. That end might have been compassed

by a skilful diplomacy or by a whole-hearted association with the Scottish reformers, a party of whom had just murdered Cardinal Beaton. But Somerset delayed; France sent supports to the queen-mother; the castle of St. Andrews, where the assassins were holding out, was captured, and the moment was lost. Somerset, instead of reverting to diplomacy, spoilt his advocacy of an equal union by talking of the sovereignty of England, and threatening to compel the Scots by force to carry out the marriage treaty. The English party in Scotland disappeared, according to the invariable rule.

The Protector and Scotland.

Somerset endeavoured to carry out his threat, marched into Scotland, and inflicted upon the Scottish army a bloody defeat at Pinkie Cleugh, near Edinburgh. But to rout the Scottish army was not to conquer Scotland. The queen and the queen-mother were out of reach. Somerset marched back to England crowned with glory, but with no other reward than his laurels. A year later the Scots shipped off their little queen to the court of France, where Henry II. had succeeded Francis I. almost immediately after the death of the English king Henry. The child was betrothed to the infant dauphin instead of to the king of England, and the Franco-Scottish alliance became more decisively anti-English than ever. For several years to come there was a French ascendency in Scotland. It was a happy thing for the ultimate union of the countries that the presence of the Frenchmen taught the Scots to resent French intervention in their affairs almost as much as English. The Reformation rooted itself deeply among the Scottish commons, while the French influence was wholly on the side of a persecuting papalism. Thus in the long run the disastrous effects of Somerset's invasion were so far counteracted that popular sentiment came to rely upon the English connection, but always with an intense suspicion of English designs, which was not eradicated till more than two centuries had passed by.

Pinkie and its results.

Meanwhile the government on its own responsibility had ceased to give effect to that side of the religious legislation of the last

reign which had reached its climax with the Six Articles. A book of homilies, compiled by Cranmer, and the authorised issuing of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, directed ecclesiastical teaching upon the lines of the New Learning. Further injunctions were issued for the destruction of 'abused images,' a term which received an exceedingly inclusive interpretation. No one was punished for the expression of advanced opinions which the law had denounced. Gardiner remonstrated, on the ground that there was no authority for introducing religious innovations during the king's minority; Bonner, the bishop of London, supported him, and both were put in prison.

The council and religion.

The first parliament of the reign met in November. It proceeded to legislate in accordance with Somerset's ideas. The Protector was a humane man, and parliament began by removing from the Statute Book Cromwell's Treasons Act, the Act of the Six Articles, and the old Act *De Heretico Comburendo*. The repeal of the two latter Acts was a very long step in the direction of general toleration. Less commendable, or at least more aggressive, was the suppression of the chantries, authorised but not carried out in the last reign. The progress of advanced opinions was illustrated by the petition of Convocation for the administration of the Communion in both kinds to the laity, and for permission for the clergy to marry; both condemned by the Six Articles Act, and both now sanctioned by parliament. The Protector's humanitarianism took a paradoxical shape in a law against vagrancy. The penalties of flogging and hanging had entirely failed to check the multiplication of sturdy vagabonds; the new law empowered the magistrates to arrest such persons and hand them over to some 'honest person' as slaves for a couple of years; if they misbehaved or ran away they were to be made slaves for life. This odd experiment came to nothing, and the Act was repealed two years afterwards. The benignity of the government was more effectively displayed by a general pardon except for graver crimes, which set the recalcitrant bishops at liberty.

November. A benevolent parliament.

During 1548 the council continued to push forward religious innovations by a still more extensive campaign against images,

and by giving the advanced party a practical monopoly of the pulpits by means of the system of confining the work of preaching to licensed persons, and granting licences only to votaries of the New Learning; and again, Gardiner's protests led to his imprisonment. But the cause itself and Somerset's own reputation and influence were seriously injured by his greedy appropriation of ecclesiastical property to his own private uses.

1548. Image-breaking.

These things would not perhaps have seriously weakened Somerset, since the rest of the council found them rather in their own interest than otherwise. But when the Protector intervened as the champion of the humbler classes, set up a court of his own to hear appeals against the interested administration of the law by magistrates who were always on the side of the landlord, and appointed a commission to inquire into the rural depression, he roused the antagonism of his colleagues and of the whole governing class, for which he presently paid the penalty. Parliament met again in November and would have nothing to say to the Enclosures Bill, which the Protector's commissioners recommended for the defence of the peasantry. Still, on the religious question there was no reaction. Cranmer had been for some time engaged in the preparation of a Church service book, which was to be generally adopted in place of the various forms of service which were in use. It was written in English. This new service book, commonly called the Prayer-Book of 1549, was authorised by parliament, and its use was enjoined by the First Act of Uniformity in the beginning of that year. Its great feature, apart from its being in the vernacular, was the very wide latitude of interpretation which it permitted, so that it was possible not only for Lutherans but for rigidly orthodox Catholics on one side and for advanced Calvinists on the other to use it without straining their consciences. It is a disputed question whether the book was ever actually submitted to Convocation for acceptance.

The friend of the people.

1549. The Prayer-Book.

An unhappy business which came before parliament at this time was the affair of the Lord Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the Protector's brother. The admiral was an ambitious

intriguer. He had married the widowed Katharine Parr; she had died within the year, and he then designed to obtain the hand of the Lady Elizabeth, who stood next but one in the succession to the throne. This plan was stopped, but he continued to harbour ambitious and treasonable designs. At last he was arrested. If he had been given a fair trial there is no doubt that his treason would have been manifest, and his death inevitable and thoroughly well deserved. Unfortunately the Protector was induced to proceed by Bill of Attainder. The admiral had no adequate opportunity for defending himself. He was beheaded, and his execution was used to justify charges of tyranny against his brother.

The Protector's brother.

The new Church service was introduced at Whitsuntide, and was the signal for an insurrection in the west, directed partly against the religious innovations, but, in fact, largely agrarian in origin. The monastic lands had been distributed among the most self-seeking of the great landholders, or purchased, to a great extent as a commercial speculation, by men who were eager to establish themselves among the landed gentry. The new landlords were apt to take every advantage of the law, and there had been a great access of enclosing, often in defiance of the law. The administration of law was in the hands of justices who, being landowners, played into the hand of the landowning class. The disappearance of the monasteries removed the one body which, however inadequately, had discharged the task of relieving destitution. All the evils by which the rural population was beset in the reign of Henry VII., and which legislation had failed to check, were intensified. In the west country it was easy enough to associate the agrarian troubles with religious innovation; and the insurgents of the west clamoured for the restoration of their monastic landlords and the abolition of the new service book.

The western rising.

The west had hardly risen when the eastern counties followed suit, under the leadership of the tanner Robert Ket. But in the eastern counties anticlericalism was strong; religious conservatism did not enter into the motives of the insurgents; the

rising there was purely agrarian, and the demand was not for a change in the law but for its administration in accordance with the statutes instead of in the interests of the landlords. The Protector's personal sympathies were on the popular side on the agrarian question; but he was ready enough to put down the revolt against his religious policy. Hired foreign troops were dispatched to the west, and the revolt there was suppressed early in August. Ket's insurrection, conducted in orderly and disciplined fashion, involved the government in more serious difficulties; the insurgents were strong in their theory that they were not defying or breaking the law, but merely taking measures to compel its observance. Norwich was captured, and government troops were routed; it was not till the end of August that Warwick was able to inflict a decisive defeat upon Ket's followers, and to capture and hang Ket himself.

Ket's insurrection.

Warwick had by this time made up his mind that Somerset's rule must be ended, wherein most of the council agreed with him. These insurrections had been the direct outcome of the Protector's pernicious encouragement of popular demands for the enforcement of laws which forbade the landlords to rob the peasantry. Besides, while the Protector was posing as a reformer at home, foreign affairs were going badly. The battle of Pinkie had only served to turn Scotland into something like a French protectorate. The French were bent on the recovery of Boulogne, and there were neither troops nor money forthcoming to defend it against a serious attack. The navy was going to pieces, and the French were more masters of the Channel than the English.

Alarming prospects.

There was no prospect of an alliance with Charles, who had destroyed the League of Schmalkalde at the battle of Mühlberg, and had imposed upon Germany a religious compromise known as the Interim of Augsburg. German Protestantism was antagonistic to Charles, being thoroughly dissatisfied with the Interim; and on the other hand England was flooded with German Protestants who were hand in glove with Cranmer, or with the still more advanced adherents of the Reformation which Somerset was forwarding in England. But all this did not tend to the

alliance of Charles with the English government against France, and France declared war a month after the suppression of Ket's insurrection.

Somerset's fall was sudden. He discovered that the council was leagued against him, whereupon he endeavoured to rouse popular sentiment in his own support against them. But it was he, not they, who was ostensibly the aggressor. There was no movement in his favour; the troops which had suppressed the insurrections were under the council's control, and the Protector had no choice but to surrender. For the present Warwick and his supporters were content to depose him from the protectorship, confine him in the Tower, and deprive him of a portion of his estates. So really powerless did he seem, that after a few months' interval he was set at liberty, and was even admitted again to the council.

November. Somerset displaced by Warwick.

The ascendency of Warwick dates from November 1549, nearly two years before he took the title of duke of Northumberland. In no respect was his rule an improvement upon that of his predecessor. Unlike Somerset, he had neither ideals nor convictions. He was absolutely unprincipled, and clever with the cleverness which very often overreaches itself. He was committed to the Reformation, because a reversion to the conservative policy would involve the liberation of Norfolk, the revival of the Howard ascendency, and the passing of the leadership into the hands of Bishop Gardiner. Moreover, young King Edward was an extremely precocious boy, who had already been taught to regard himself as a sort of Josiah. If the boy lived, there was a future for Protestant statesmen, but not for reactionaries. Warwick therefore conceived that policy required him to throw in his lot with the advanced Protestants; with the corollary that the succession of the resolutely orthodox Mary should be prevented in the case of Edward's demise without children. To advance the Reformation vigorously on extreme lines, to establish his own influence over the young king, and, as the chances of Edward's early death became increasingly probable, to secure a successor with whom his own influence

John Dudley.

would still be supreme—these were the objects which John Dudley kept before his eyes. As to his methods, he was untroubled by Somerset's abstract enthusiasm for liberty and justice. He was ready to seize whatever means might come to hand.

The first and most pressing necessity was to deal with France. Negotiations were entrusted to the most skilful diplomatist on the council, Paget. Boulogne was bound to go, and the only thing to be done was to procure a peace which might save the face of the government. Even that was hardly accomplished. By the treaty which was signed in March 1550, such English troops as were still in occupation of Scottish fortresses were to be withdrawn, most of the outstanding claims in respect of the treaty of 1546 were to be cancelled, and Boulogne was to be given up, though something which might pass for a ransom was to be paid for it.

1550. Treaty with France.

Somerset had imprisoned no one except Gardiner and Bonner, and that for open resistance to the acts of the council. Warwick found excuse for depriving and imprisoning three more bishops of the old school and filling their places with advanced reformers. Followers of the Swiss school threatened to predominate over the men of Cranmer's type, the moderates who were disinclined to make a clean sweep of the old system. The Princess Mary was ordered to give up the Mass, though she refused to obey. It was true that the emperor in effect threatened war on behalf of his cousin, but he had too much on his hands in Germany, and the English government elected to set his threats at naught.

A forward ecclesiastical policy.

In other respects Warwick reversed Somerset's policy. The treason laws were again reinforced, so that to attack members of the Privy Council became treason. Gatherings calculated to disturb the king's peace were made felonious or treasonable. The laws against enclosing were amended in favour of the enclosers. The liberated Somerset, quite consistently with his former career, endeavoured to form an opposition, and fell a victim to the new treasons law. Sufficient evidence was obtained of his attempting to gather 'felonious' assemblages; he was also charged with compassing the deaths

Somerset's plans reversed.

of several members of the council. Northumberland, who had just taken his new title, withdrew the charges so far as they affected himself; he could afford to do so, because on the other charges the death sentence was assured. The unfortunate Somerset was beheaded in February 1552, amid the lamentations of the commons, who knew at least that he had honestly, if not over wisely, sought their welfare.

With 1552 came the crowning act of the Reformation under Edward VI., the Second Prayer-Book. During the reign of Henry VIII. no deviations in doctrine had been permitted; neither Cranmer nor any other of the bishops had rejected the crucial dogma of Transubstantiation, the transformation of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ effected by the act of Consecration. Cranmer and several of the bishops, as well as many of the clergy, desired that the laity as well as the clergy should partake of the Cup, and had claimed that marriage was lawful for the clergy, but both practices had been forbidden by statute. The one material advance had been the substitution of English for Latin in an authorised version of the Scriptures and in a Litany. Since Henry's death statutory orthodoxy had been made more comprehensive. Communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy had been legalised, a complete liturgy in English was enjoined under Somerset, and the forms of that liturgy could be so interpreted that believers in Transubstantiation and believers in the purely commemorative character of the Holy Communion could both accept it. But the bishops had since travelled further along the path of the Reformation. Cranmer and his closest allies had arrived at a doctrine of the Eucharist which was neither the Transubstantiation of Rome, the Consubstantiation of Luther, nor the Zwinglian doctrine of commemoration pure and simple, nor even the Calvinistic doctrine which admitted a certain mystical element. But further, a much more advanced group, deriving from one or other of the Swiss schools, had found its way to the episcopal bench, and was loud of voice among both clergy and laity; a school which protested against many immemorial

1552. The Second Prayer-Book.

Advanced influences.

ceremonial practices as 'rags of Rome' and as savouring of 'idolatry.' The pressure of this party compelled a revision of the First Prayer-Book in a sense definitely rejecting Transubstantiation, and generally more in accordance with Swiss tenets; while Cranmer and Ridley had difficulty in preserving forms and phrases which sufficiently expressed their own view of the Sacrament. Such was the Prayer-Book issued by the authority of parliament in 1552, supplemented in the following year by Forty-two Articles of Religion; the Prayer-Book which, with some modification, became the prayer-book of Elizabeth.

The First Prayer-Book had been accompanied by an Act of Uniformity imposing its use upon the clergy under various pains and penalties. The new Act of Uniformity of 1552 went further, and required the conformity of laymen. No one, except perhaps Somerset, as yet had a doubt that conformity to the established religion should be enforced by the law. The only question was as to the extent of the divergencies of private opinion which the law should sanction. Cranmer and Latimer themselves had approved the burning of Anabaptists in the past; and after Somerset's fall there was no one who protested when a like doom was inflicted upon one Joan Bocher for rejecting the accepted doctrine of the Incarnation. The Calvinists themselves conformed in outward observance, though they claimed the right to hold to their own opinions and to seek to procure their recognition by the law. This was the attitude to which for more than a century the name of 'Nonconformity' was appropriated—nonconformity of opinion but not of observance.

The Second Act of Uniformity.

Northumberland attempted in this same parliament to strengthen the hands of the government by an Act reviving verbal treason. But the Commons were not altogether amenable. They made a point of introducing a clause requiring the evidence of two witnesses to warrant condemnation; a warning that the late proceedings against Somerset, against whom a single witness had been held sufficient, had not commanded popular approval.

A Treasons Act.

In spite of the enthusiasm of the advanced reformers, who

were ready to believe that Northumberland was as honestly zealous as themselves, the duke was conscious in the summer of 1552 that his position was precarious. The Reformation was proceeding too far and too fast for the masses of the population, who were less articulate than the advanced men. The national finances were in evil plight. Henry VIII. in his closing years had wrought infinite harm by a flagrant debasement of the coinage. Northumberland's government reverted to that bad practice and outdid Henry himself. The whole country was suffering from intense depression. The government's foreign policy had been saved from being disastrous only because the emperor was for the time being paralysed by the failure of his own policy in Germany. If the sickly king died and the ardent Romanist Mary came to the throne, Northumberland's political doom would be sealed. He had not even a strong personal following. His closest ally was the duke of Suffolk, Henry Grey, formerly marquis of Dorset, the husband of Francis, elder daughter of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon, late duke of Suffolk. Herbert and Russell, the recently created earls of Pembroke and Bedford, he could in some degree count upon, and the same might be said of the reforming bishops.

Northumberland's fears.

But the time had come when he must stake everything upon securing the succession to the throne for some one whom he could dominate completely. Mary must be set aside; the Lady Elizabeth would be a Protestant, but had already shown that she was never likely to be a puppet. The only legal title for either of them was that conveyed by the will of Henry VIII. The legitimist heir was the little queen of Scots, who was out of the question; so was her half-aunt the Countess of Lennox, Margaret Tudor's daughter by her second marriage. The next in the succession therefore was the duchess of Suffolk, and after her her daughters, the ladies Jane and Katharine Grey. By a very curious fatality there was no possible male claimant to the succession. Northumberland's choice fell upon Lady Jane Grey, a young girl who had been brought up in the strict paths of Puritan piety and obedience. If she were married to one of his own sons, he imagined that he

His succession plot.

1553. Lady Jane Grey.

could reckon on her pliability; while Suffolk was apparently content that the crown should go to his daughter instead of to his wife. Lady Jane was duly married in 1553 to Guildford Dudley. Pembroke's support was presumed to be secured by the marriage of his son to Lady Jane's younger sister Katharine, which was afterwards annulled.

Though the marriage took place in May 1553, it would be no easy matter to secure the throne for Northumberland's daughter-in-law. Every one knew that Edward's days were almost numbered. There had never been any inclination to dispute the settlement made by the late king's will with the sanction of parliament. Public sympathy had been drawn to Mary by the harsh treatment to which she had been subjected, and by her courageous bearing. The commons had no love for the man who had destroyed Somerset; in the country he could rely only upon the advanced Protestants, who feared a set-back for the Reformation if Mary should come to the throne. Northumberland concocted a plan to legalise his scheme. If Henry VIII. could devise the crown by will, it might be argued that Edward could do the same. Northumberland played upon the dying boy's fervent Protestantism. Opposition within the council was overborne by covert threats and other forms of persuasion. Most of the members, as well as the judges who were called in, were of opinion that it was unconstitutional, if not treasonable, to support the king, who was himself a minor, in setting aside by his own authority the course of succession laid down by Act of parliament. But the judges gave way when they received the order under the Great Seal to draw up the necessary letters patent, accompanied by a pardon for their action in case it should subsequently be held that they had broken the law. A number of members of the council appended their signatures, afterwards declaring that they did so in fear for their lives. Cranmer only signed when he had been tricked into believing that the judges had pronounced the proceeding to be legal; the shrewd secretary, William Cecil, professed that his signature was only that of a witness. But the deed was done on 21st June. Northumberland was still

The will of Edward VI.

The council coerced.

organising the distribution of the available government forces so as to prevent resistance, when the king died on 6th July. For two days his death was kept secret. On the 10th Lady Jane was proclaimed queen in London. The general silence with which the proclamation was received by the crowd was broken only by the voice of a 'prentice remarking, 'The Lady Mary hath the better title.'

II. Mary, 1553-1558

The plot collapses.

For nine days Lady Jane, the innocent victim of Northumberland's ambitions, was queen; nine days sufficed to shatter the whole plot to atoms, although at the first moment its success seemed to observers in London to be assured. For Northumberland had failed to capture Mary. Just in time she learnt that the king was dead and that troops were on the march to secure her, and by hard riding she escaped out of reach. At once she dispatched a letter claiming the allegiance of the council, but not before the duke had received a sharp rebuff from Queen Jane, who flatly rejected his proposal that her husband should be crowned king. Her conscience had not allowed her to refuse the crown for herself, earnestly as she had desired to do so, when every one round her declared that it was her duty to accept it. But there could be no duty to adopt this new proposal, and the girl's resolution could not be shaken. On the heels of this came the news that the eastern counties were up for Queen Mary, and then that Northumberland's own sons were in flight from the troops which were to have captured Mary, but promptly went over to her side. The duke dared not send any member of the council forth, lest he too should desert the moment he was out of reach. He marched out himself, and then it became known that the men in the fleet had also compelled their officers to declare for Queen Mary. Half the council in London hastened to do likewise, Pembroke setting the example. As Mary and her levies approached, Northumberland's troops deserted him. All the miserable traitor could do was to grovel for pardon. Queen Mary's triumph was complete.

She used her victory with unparalleled moderation. She required some persuasion to consent to the execution even of Northumberland. Lady Jane and her husband were confined in the Tower; Ridley, bishop of London, who had preached an inflammatory sermon, was also sent to prison. For the rest there was a general pardon; even Suffolk went free. Cruelty and vindictiveness were altogether alien to Mary's nature.

Mary's leniency.

English loyalty and love of the law, sympathy with the brave woman who for twenty years had been the victim of perpetual injustice, hatred of Northumberland, had carried Mary to the throne, not any sweeping reaction against the Reformation. A reaction there was against the extravagances of the Protestant zealots; but what the country looked for was not the suppression of Protestantism, but a liberal and comprehensive treatment of the religious question, though it was only to be expected that the influence of the Old Learning, the Gardiners and Tunstalls, would preponderate. Nor was there any present sign that persecution would be revived. Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest were at once set free, but the most aggressive reformers were given ample opportunity to retreat. Some withdrew; others, like Cranmer and Latimer, stood firm and made no submission. No complaint could be made if they were treated as Gardiner had been treated, with their concurrence.

The zealous Protestants were anxious; but there was more general anxiety concerning proposals for the queen's marriage. Philip, the crown-prince of Spain, was the candidate for her hand favoured by Mary and desired by his father, the emperor, since the marriage would unite England with the Empire against France. Neither the people nor the statesmen of England approved; there was too great a risk that England would simply be dragged whithersoever Spain wished to lead her. But the queen's heart was set on it, and all that her ministers could do was to fence the marriage treaty about with every conceivable safeguard. The popular desire was that she should marry the young earl of Devon, Edward Courtenay, son of that marquis of Exeter whom Cromwell had done to death;

A prospective husband.

for Courtenay was of the blood royal, the grandson of Katharine, daughter of Edward IV. and sister of the queen's own grandmother.

Mary's first parliament was summoned in October. It declared Mary legitimate, and repealed all the ecclesiastical legislation since the death of Henry VIII., on the ground that it was really invalid, because the late king had never attained his majority. Before it was dissolved, the Commons petitioned against the Spanish marriage. Hardly was the treaty signed in January (1554) when an insurrection broke out, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt., Protestantism was the probable motive of the leaders, resentment against the Spanish marriage was their avowed pretext and the exciting motive of most of their followers; the unavowed intention was to depose Mary and set Elizabeth on the throne, with Courtenay for her husband. Suffolk, in spite of his pardon, was mixed up in it; there was never adequate proof of Elizabeth's complicity, though it is practically certain that she knew neither more nor less about it than she herself chose. There was a premature movement in Devon; Gardiner extracted some sort of intelligence from Courtenay, but not in time to prevent the outbreak in Kent on the 26th. The real soul of the rebellion was there, Sir Thomas Wyatt. The old duke of Norfolk, liberated along with Gardiner, went down with the government troops to crush the rising; his men deserted to Wyatt, and the duke had to seek safety in flight. Wyatt with his following marched upon London. There Mary's personal vigour and resolution checked the almost universal panic. The insurgents, stopped at London Bridge, marched up the river, crossed at Kingston, and advanced upon London in a long straggling column, which was cut in two by a loyalist force attacking its flank. The van struggled on, and actually reached Ludgate; but when the loyalists had once rallied, its fate was already sealed. Wyatt and many of his followers were taken prisoners. Mary could not repeat the leniency shown over Northumberland's plot, nor longer spare such a possible figurehead for rebellion as the nine-days' queen. Jane Grey, Guildford

1554. Wyatt's rebellion, January.

Its suppression.

Dudley, Suffolk, and Wyatt were beheaded; some hundred of the rebels were hanged. Elizabeth and Courtenay were both sent to the Tower. Both after a couple of months were set free, but for the rest of the reign the queen's sister was kept under a surveillance hardly distinguishable from a mild imprisonment. She cannot have felt at any time that her head was over safe on her shoulders; but she was far too clever to give any handle to the enemies who sought her destruction, of whom Mary was not one, though she must have distrusted her sister profoundly.

A new parliament met in April which ratified the marriage treaty; but reaction had not yet triumphed. The emperor himself wished Mary to conciliate rather than to persecute her Protestant subjects as a matter of policy. Parliament refused to revive the Six Articles Act or the statute *De Heretico* or to exclude Elizabeth from the succession. The same sentiment which had made the nation loyal to Mary made it also loyal to Elizabeth.

The second parliament, April.

In July Philip arrived and married Mary; he remained in the country little more than a year. The Spanish marriage was completed, but the country was not reconciled to it. Within the limits of the law, Mary began to move more actively towards a religious restoration. Gardiner and his party had already learnt to realise that severance from the Papacy was incompatible with the recovery of the old ecclesiastical authority. From this time the party opposed to Protestantism in England were papalists, though hitherto they had not been so. Still, Mary herself had always been bent upon a reunion with Rome; by her own desire her cousin, Cardinal Pole, had been appointed papal legate to complete the reconciliation, though hitherto he had been carefully detained abroad for political reasons, lest his coming should add to the ferment attending the Spanish marriage.

The marriage, July.

In November Mary's third parliament met, having for its first duty the reversal of the ancient attainder against Cardinal Pole. At the end of the month the legate arrived, was received in state, and in answer to the supplication of parliament gave absolution for the national

Reconciliation with Rome, November.

deflection from the Roman allegiance. A penitent people was welcomed back to the bosom of the Church, and was allowed to retain possession of the spoils taken from the Church. Without that condition it would have remained impenitent.

Persecution sanctioned.

At last Mary had a parliament which was ready to concede the powers she required to carry out her longing for the salvation of the souls of her people. It revived all the penal Acts against heresy, and abolished all the ecclesiastical legislation after 1529, save in respect of the restitution of Church property. Not to the council nor to Spanish influence, nor even in the main to the papalist bishops, must we attribute the one fiery persecution in our annals, but to the passionate conviction of the queen that only so the people whom she loved could be saved from eternal death. Yet the whole nation must share the responsibility. The Commons and the Lords acquiesced, the Lords with rather less readiness than the Commons. The majority of the council and the majority of the bishops did more than acquiesce; they were willing agents in carrying out the queen's purpose. But the effect of the persecution was not to stamp out heresy but to make the most vigorous part of the nation fervidly Protestant.

Character of the persecution.

Persecution for heresy was no new thing. The law had always imposed orthodoxy, and for a century and a half open refusal to conform to the doctrines recognised as orthodox had been punishable—and had been punished—by death at the stake. But for eight years past the old definitions of orthodoxy had been set aside, and doctrines hitherto condemned as heretical had been permitted and even enjoined by the law. Now, opinions which had been taught with the sanction of the law were brought back into the category of heresies. It was quite a different thing to punish innovators in religion, as had been done in the past, from ordering men to relinquish beliefs which had become firmly established under the ægis of the law. This is the feature which primarily distinguishes the Marian persecution from the persecution of Lollards and Anabaptists. It is distinguished, on the other hand, from all later persecutions in England and the British Isles, whether of

papalists or of Protestant dissenters, because its motive was exclusively religious. All the later persecutions were instituted avowedly on political grounds, however deeply religious animosities may have entered into them. The practice of the old religion was punished on the ground not that the opinions held were erroneous, but that the persons who held them were presumably hostile to the established government. And it may further be remarked that the later persecutions discarded the stake. The fires of Smithfield appealed to the popular imagination far more vividly than the gallows, the rack, and the thumbscrew. Mary's three hundred victims, martyred during four years, made an infinitely deeper impression than the more numerous victims who suffered for conscience' sake under Elizabeth and the Stuarts.

During the first period of the persecution, while Gardiner was still alive, it is to be noted that it was directed chiefly against persons who were well known, eminent for their virtue and piety, or distinguished as leaders, just as Cromwell had chosen More and Fisher and the Carthusians for destruction. There were indeed no distinguished laymen among their number, because distinguished laymen preferred conformity to martyrdom; but Gardiner, not unreasonably, judged that the plague would be stayed by the deaths of a few such men as Rogers, Bradford, and Rowland Taylor, conspicuous for their virtues; bishops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Ferrar, and Archbishop Cranmer. It was not till after his death that a crowd of otherwise quite insignificant persons glorified their cause and inspired courage instead of terror—old men and boys and tender women—by the steadfast faith and unflinching endurance with which they bore their cruel doom. **Gardiner.**

Rogers, reputed to be the author of Matthew's Bible, was the first of the martyrs; he suffered just after the dissolution of the parliament which had restored the persecuting Act. There were signs enough that the country was taking alarm, and Philip was careful to reject all responsibility for the persecution, though Englishmen generally have tried to solace themselves with the belief that he inspired it. As the spring advanced, **1555. January.**

his hopes of an heir were disappointed. It became generally known, though the queen herself remained incredulous, that no heir ever would be born. The great object of French policy was to secure the succession of the queen of Scots, now resident at the French court and betrothed to the French dauphin. Consequently it now became necessary for Philip that Elizabeth, not Mary Stuart, should succeed her sister, and that she should be won to friendliness towards Spain. The necessary antagonism of Spain to the succession of Mary Stuart, the necessity of its preserving the friendship of Elizabeth, is the key to the policy both of Philip and of Elizabeth herself for many years to come.

Philip and Elizabeth.

Early in September Philip left the country. Only once again, in 1557, did he return to pay a brief visit to his unhappy wife, who persisted in a devotion to him which he was very far from returning. Charles v. was now on the point of abdicating in Philip's favour so far as Burgundy and Spain were concerned. Germany did not intend to remain tied to Spain, and Charles could not control the succession to the Empire, which presently passed to the Austrian archduke, his brother Ferdinand, with whose house it remained thenceforth. Philip's time was fully taken up with entering upon his new possessions, though a temporary peace was patched up with France.

Philip and the Empire.

Meanwhile, in October, Ridley and Latimer were martyred at Oxford, when Latimer sounded his famous trumpet-call to the reformers: 'Be of good cheer, brother Ridley; play the man; this day we shall light a candle which shall not be put out.' A few days later Gardiner died. Within six months the primate of England had followed Ridley and Latimer, but he had long been assured that nothing but his recantation would save him. In the hope that he would recant his doom was deferred; with difficulty a recantation was, in fact, extracted. Had he been set at liberty, the Old Learning would have achieved a triumph, and Cranmer would have gone down to a dishonoured grave. But the recantation did not save him; he summoned up courage to repudiate it, and his name was added to the muster-roll of the Protestant martyrs.

The Oxford martyrs.

Financial necessities compelled the summoning of Mary's fourth parliament, just before Gardiner's death. It granted a subsidy, but its temper was shown by its flat refusal to revive the papal annates and the reluctance with which it conceded its sanction to the disposal by the queen of the 'tenths,' which were actually in her hands. With an empty treasury parliament could scarcely endure that the queen should voluntarily give away anything at all. There was a new pope, Paul IV., an austere and energetic reformer on his own lines, and a vigorous upholder of papal claims; and papal claims were not popular in England, even in the quarters where the New Learning was detested. Paul was very ill satisfied with the extent of the English submission; ill pleased with Mary, though it was none of her fault; and worse pleased with Pole, who was now archbishop of Canterbury in Cranmer's room. Papal claims clashed also with imperial claims, and were in consequence warmly supported by the French court, where papalist influences were entirely predominant; though there was a strong Calvinistic or Huguenot group among the nobles, which had no small amount of popular support in some parts of the country. But from these conditions it resulted that Spain and the Empire were shortly again at war with France in her character of papal champion, and into that war England was soon dragged.

The fourth parliament, October.

1556.

England was restive, discontented, gloomy. It was being sickened by the persecution; trade and agriculture were in a state of the lowest depression; national finance had gone from bad to worse. Bad harvests were making matters worse; the vigorous navy which Henry VIII. had brought into being had been allowed to decay for want of funds; even the garrison and defences of Calais had been seriously weakened. Suddenly the blow, which ought to have been expected, fell. At the end of December 1557 the duke of Guise appeared before Calais. On 6th January the prize which Edward III. had won and England had held for two hundred and ten years was at last won back by the French. England's gateway to the Continent was closed. Sick and sore as England was,

1557.

1558. **Calais lost.**

English pride refused to own that the country was beaten, and the war dragged on. Mary persuaded herself that the hand of Heaven was upon her for her slackness in dealing with heresy; the persecution was intensified, but there were no signs that the Divine Wrath was relenting. Death was drawing near, and the queen knew that all she had been doing would be reversed by her successor; yet all her husband had to say was to warn her to set no difficulties in the way of Elizabeth's accession. He saw his own release at hand, and was considering the advisability of retaining his position as consort of the queen of England, since when Mary was dead a papal dispensation would allow him to marry his deceased wife's sister; and there would be no fear of that marriage being invalidated. His release did not come till November, when Mary died of the disease which had long been killing her; and with Elizabeth's accession the new era dawned.

Mary's death, November.

CHAPTER VI. ELIZABETH

(1) RECONSTRUCTION, 1558-1578

I. The New Queen, 1558-1560

When Mary died, Elizabeth's accession was accepted by the nation without demur. It did not concern itself with arguments about legitimacy; it had chosen once for all that the will of Henry VIII. in the matter should be accepted as a final decision; by its choice it was resolved to abide in 1558 as in 1553. The question was not to be regarded as an open one. Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and now dauphiness of France, might have commanded the suffrages of legitimists and papalists; but the nation, which had so nearly broken into rebellion over the Spanish marriage, would certainly not have remained at peace under the prospect of being ruled by a Franco-Scottish monarchy. No one even considered the claims of the countess of Lennox and her son, or of Katharine Grey. Still, there was a permanent danger that Mary might attempt to assert her claim, with France and Scotland behind her and all the forces of papalism. On the other hand, Philip of Spain could not afford to let England become a province of an empire which would include France and all the British Isles. That empire would completely sever the king of Spain from the Burgundian provinces, which he could only reach by sea.

1558. Elizabeth's security.

Elizabeth at five-and-twenty was a shrewd, hard-headed young woman, with powers of dissimulation which had been thoroughly trained in the school of adversity. She had long been obliged to trust to her own wits to keep on her own shoulders the head which many people would gladly have seen severed from them. She had learnt to be a very keen judge of character; quietly and silently, she had already chosen the

The queen.

man who was to be the mainstay of her rule, Sir William Cecil. Cecil in Edward VI.'s time had been secretary to the council.

Cecil.

He was thoroughly versed in the inner workings of political life; he was endowed with unlimited patience and capacity for hard work; he never lost sight of larger issues, while no detail was too small to secure its due share of attention. He could not be cajoled or bribed or frightened, though he was quite capable of cajoling or bribing or frightening others if occasion arose. His sympathies were entirely Protestant, but he had no scruples about conforming when militant Protestantism was dangerous. Through Mary's reign he had been content to watch and wait; his ambition was deep-seated, but was not of the kind which overleaps itself. And now his day had come. In conjunction with his young mistress it was to be his business to restore order and system where all had become disorganised; to set the national finances on a sound footing; to establish the Church upon a basis acceptable not to this or that section but to the nation at large; and besides this, he was to pilot the State through the intricacies of foreign relations, which were eternally threatening war, without breaking the peace which was so necessary to the national recuperation, and without surrendering one English interest; until the England which in 1558 seemed almost helpless and powerless had achieved such strength that she could fearlessly and triumphantly bid defiance to the power which overshadowed all Europe and dreamed that it was mistress of the seas.

There were three matters with which it was imperatively necessary to deal as soon as it was clear that the queen's title was not about to be disputed: finance and the restoration of national credit, the religious settlement, and the war with France. There was a fourth question, urgent in the view of the country, as to which Elizabeth had her own distinct ideas. This was her marriage; but the queen herself, instead of regarding it as in the least urgent, treated it for five-and-twenty years as an invaluable diplomatic asset. The fact that she was unwedded, and that all England craved that there should be an heir of her

Needs of the moment.

The marriage question.

body who should put an end to all doubt as to the succession, made her hand a prize worth bargaining for, a prize worth dangling, never quite within reach, before innumerable suitors. Dangerous though it was to keep the succession open, terrible as might have been the chaos wrought by Elizabeth's death at any time during those five-and-twenty years, Elizabeth chose to take the risk. It is possible that she herself knew of reasons, not to be published, which would have made her marriage useless; there are hints of contemporary suspicions that such was the case; but, even if it were not so, the queen's attitude is intelligible. The prevailing keynote of her policy was a hatred of taking any irrevocable step; she always struggled to keep a way of retreat open, and from a marriage there could have been no retreat. But she also had an unfailing confidence in her luck, a gambler's confidence, which was repeatedly justified. Marriage would have been a sort of insurance against her death for the benefit of the nation; and she elected to speculate instead of to insure her life, which was quite consistent with the rest of her character. By keeping her hand free she was repeatedly able to gain what she always wanted—time. To the prudence of her advisers her gambling was an endless torment; but time after time her luck and her wits together brought her triumphantly through apparently overwhelming risks, and she won her stakes. And so it was with the matrimonial juggle.

Within six months the French war was ended. Philip and Henry, as well as Elizabeth, wanted peace; the one obstacle was the English determination to recover Calais, and that was a determination with which pride rather than expediency was concerned. It was more than doubtful whether the cost of Calais did not outweigh the advantage of possessing it. Philip was not prepared to go on fighting, with its recovery for England as the one end in view. England could not continue the war alone with any tolerable prospect of recovering the lost fortress. In April the peace of Cateau Cambrésis was signed. France was to restore Calais after eight years, or else was to pay half a million crowns in default. France did not venture to press Mary Stuart's title to the English

1559. Peace with France, April.

throne, and Elizabeth refused to pronounce officially that Mary was her heir-presumptive. To do so would have been an invitation for some assassin to clear the way for Mary's immediate accession; besides which, Elizabeth was queen in virtue of the will of Henry VIII., and according to that will the heir-presumptive was not Mary Stuart but Katharine Grey.

The Spanish ambassador and the Spanish court took for granted that the young queen would regard herself as entirely dependent upon Spanish favour and support, and would take her orders from Spain. The last two reigns had displayed a dearth of statesmen in England, which gave no warning that Elizabeth would be able to form a strong and independent government. Philip at a very early stage proffered his own solution of the marriage problem by proposing himself as her consort, on condition of her returning to the Roman faith; for her first steps had shown that she was only awaiting parliamentary authority to reverse her sister's ecclesiastical policy. Elizabeth politely declined. Her reason was unanswerable. There must be a papal dispensation to permit her marriage with her sister's widower. To acknowledge such a dispensation as valid would be to acknowledge also that Katharine of Aragon had been her father's wife and that she herself was a bastard. Philip found political consolation, when the treaty with France was sealed, by his own marriage to the French king's daughter Isabella; but he had had an unpleasant demonstration of the English queen's independence. Both she and Cecil were thoroughly alive to the dominant fact that Spain could not afford to desert Elizabeth, whatever she might do, because it was only the fear of Spain which deterred France from actively espousing the cause of Mary Stuart.

Elizabeth and Philip II.

Financial reconstruction was at once taken in hand. The crowd of corrupt or inefficient officials was displaced by men of integrity. Skilled financiers of known probity were called to the aid of the government. The mere fact that the reign of corruption was at an end counted for much. The immediate introduction of a rigorous economy in expenditure counted for much also. And of hardly less importance for the

Finance.

restoration of national credit was the reversal of that fatal policy of debasing the coinage which had prevailed for twenty years. The current coins were worth only a fraction of their face value, their purchasing power was proportionately diminished, all the better coins had either gone out of the country or were being hoarded, wages were worth less than half their professed value, and the exchange with foreign countries was in a state of chaos. The debased coins were now called in, and all the new coins issued contained silver and gold to their full face value. No English government ever again resorted to a debasement of the coinage. Lastly, the new finance held fast to the principle of the punctual repayment of all loans; consequently before long government was able to borrow upon reasonable terms, instead of paying the usurious interest demanded during the long period of depression.

The third question was that of the religious settlement. For Elizabeth the repudiation of papal authority was a political necessity, on account of her birth if for no other reason. The last two reigns had made it clear that the attempt to combine that repudiation with the rejection of Protestant doctrines was impracticable. The settlement must be on Protestant lines and must recognise the supremacy of the State. But the lines must be such as would reconcile the largest possible number of the queen's subjects to it, and especially such as would give the best security against a papalist movement in favour of a papalist candidate for the crown. Reactionaries were out of range, but conservatives must be conciliated. At the same time the advanced school must not be allowed to think that they were no better off than they would be under a reactionary rule. In point of doctrine Elizabeth's personal preference would undoubtedly have been for a return to the position as it was during her father's last years; some of the reformers in high places would have liked to go further along the Calvinistic path than even Northumberland's last parliament had ventured; but statesmanship, taking a purely political view of the situation, retreated slightly from that position in favour of conservatism. The rigours of persecution must be suspended; a decent unifor-

Religion.

mity of outward observance was all that the State need concern itself with.

On these lines the settlement was carried out. Until parliament met in January no changes were enjoined, and the official services remained unaltered. But when the Houses met they proceeded to repeal Mary's legislation. A new Act of Supremacy was passed, which pronounced the Crown to be 'supreme in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil'; abolished the recently revived heresy Acts, forbade prosecutions on the ground of false opinions, except such as were manifestly contrary to the plain words of Scripture or to the pronouncements of the first four universally acknowledged General Councils of the Church; and made the refusal of the Oath of Supremacy a bar to holding office. It also authorised the formation of a court with a special authority to deal with ecclesiastical questions. This was followed by the third Act of Uniformity, requiring the use of a revised prayer-book slightly modified from the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. The married clergy who had been deprived by Mary were reinstated. The conducting of illegal forms of service, and in a less degree attendance, was made a punishable offence; but the authorities were allowed an ample latitude in the rigour with which such penalties were enforced.

The settlement.

Convocation, of course, protested against the Act of Supremacy. An unusually large number of bishoprics had recently been vacated by death, including that of Archbishop Pole; of the few bishops remaining nearly all refused to take the oath, and were deprived. Of the rest of the clergy only some two hundred seem to have lost their livings for refusing to accept the prayer-book. The vacant sees were filled up almost entirely with moderates of the school of Cranmer and Ridley; and Canterbury was given to Matthew Parker, a leading member of the group. The Apostolic Succession is held by Romanists but not by Anglicans to have been broken by the circumstances of the ordination in which Bishop Barlow took part, because the validity of Barlow's own ordination was called in question, though not until he had been dead for nearly fifty years. It may be remarked in passing that there is precisely the same lack of

The clergy.

absolutely conclusive evidence that Bishop Gardiner was ever consecrated, as in Barlow's case; the same absence of any official record of its having taken place.

Elizabeth's settlement was made with the common consent of the Crown, Lords, Commons, and the bulk of the clergy. But Scotland was in a different plight. Since the departure of the child queen to France a year after Pinkie, the real head of the government had been the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, maintained by the papalist clerics, the anti-English irreconcilables, and the French. The actual regency was for a time in the hands of Arran. But he was bribed by the French duchy of Chatelherault to let the formal office of the regency as well as the strongest personal influence pass to Mary of Lorraine in 1554, just after the accession of Mary Tudor in England. During the intervening years the Reformation had been making considerable progress in Scotland both among the people at large and among the nobles, to whom the English example of confiscating church property seemed a very excellent one. Once she was regent, Mary devoted herself to the object of turning Scotland into a French province. By so doing she aroused precisely the same kind of resentment and opposition as was always called into being when the country suspected its government of Anglicising tendencies. When, early in 1558, the queen of Scots was married to the French dauphin, the Scottish commissioners in charge of the accompanying treaty took the utmost care that Scottish independence should be thoroughly guarded; nevertheless, they returned to Scotland in the full conviction that it was the aim of French policy to destroy that independence. They did not know, however, that the queen had been persuaded to sign a private compact of her own, conveying the kingdom of Scotland to France in the event of her own death without heirs—an act on her part which can be condoned only by the consideration that she was barely sixteen and that the only influences she had known, the only theories of her own powers and her own duties with which she was acquainted, were those which she had imbibed amidst French surroundings.

Scotland, 1548-58.

In 1558, then, when Elizabeth's accession in England was close at hand, Scotland was approaching a double crisis. She had to make up her mind between the risks of a French and of an English domination, and between the religions of Rome and of Geneva; since in Scotland as in France the preachers of the Reformation, of whom the mightiest was John Knox, were all of Calvin's school, and the Protestantism both of the populace and of the nobility was of a far more grim, intense, and uncompromising character than was ever the case in England. As matters stood, to be on the side of the Reformation was to be on the side of alliance with England; and already the leaders of the double movement, the religious reformation and the opposition to the regent's French government, were openly banded together in a covenant to make their religion the national religion, and were coming to be known by the significant name of Lords of the Congregation. That title in itself marks a vital distinction between England and Scotland. In the one country it was the Crown which severed the nation from Rome, in the other it was the people themselves.

The Scottish situation in 1558.

The moment of the crisis in Scotland coincided with the political triumph of Protestantism in England. It was also the moment when the accession to the throne of England of the actual queen of Scots and prospective queen of France might any day become a question of practical politics. The regent made an attempt to conciliate Scottish sentiment by promising ecclesiastical reforms. But she accompanied it by an attempt to restrict the freedom of the preachers. The preachers paid no attention, and the regent found that the threat to employ force was certain to be met by force. A sermon preached by John Knox at Perth was followed by a riot, in which everything in the nature of an image in the church was destroyed, and in two days the people of the town had devastated every building in the place that belonged to monks and friars. Force could now be the only arbiter.

1559. The crisis.

Manifestly it was to the interest of Elizabeth that the regent should be defeated in the coming struggle. The Lords of the Congregation, headed by Lord James Stuart, the illegitimate

brother of the Scots queen, best known by his later title of earl of Moray, intended to extract from England all the help they could. That France was threatening was implied, when Mary and the dauphin quartered the royal arms of England with those of Scotland and France on their blazon. But if England openly supported the Lords of the Congregation, Elizabeth would be palpably aiding rebels against their sovereign, and by so doing would give France an excuse for attack. Cecil and Cecil's adherents were, nevertheless, in favour of this course, reckoning that if France intervened Spain would have no choice but to intervene on the other side. Elizabeth gave the first example of her peculiar but successful methods when the crisis reached a still more acute stage, through the accidental death of Henry II. at a tournament, and the accession of Francis II. and Mary to the French throne. She doled out secret pecuniary aid to the Lords of the Congregation, while publicly refusing them support. She cajoled them by dallying with the proposal that she should marry the young earl of Arran, who had borne that title since his father became duke of Chatelherault. The covert suggestion was that it might become practicable for the Scots to depose Mary and to proclaim Arran king as being next prince of the blood royal. Thus the crowns of England and Scotland would be united by the action of the Scots themselves. While she dallied with Arran she also cajoled Philip of Spain by giving ear to his proposal that she should marry his cousin, the Archduke Charles, one of the sons of Philip's uncle, Ferdinand, who was now emperor. Elizabeth never had the least intention of marrying either the archduke or Arran, or indeed any of her other suitors. Even while she played with Arran and the archduke she tormented her council by unseemly flirtations with Lord Robert Dudley, a younger son of the traitor Northumberland, although he was a married man. But she would commit herself to nothing and to no one, though all available funds were expended on the equipment of the fleet.

Elizabeth's attitude.

Playing with suitors.

In the winter it was certain that French reinforcements for Scotland were on the point of sailing, but in January 1560 the English admiral, Wynter, appeared with a squadron in the Forth. The

French expedition was shattered by a storm; and Wynter's squadron gave complete security to the Scottish coast, although he was professedly acting on his own responsibility without orders from his government. Philip did not want England to intervene in Scotland; he was afraid of being forced into a war with France. Philip threatened; Elizabeth knew that the threats were empty, but they had their invariable effect upon her—they made her defiant; and English troops were sent across the border under the command of the duke of Norfolk, grandson of the old duke, who had died soon after Wyatt's rebellion. She defended her action by arguing that she was not supporting rebels against their lawful sovereign; that, on the contrary, the Lords of the Congregation were faithful subjects defending their own constitutional rights and the honour of the Crown, which was being jeopardised by the unconstitutional proceedings of the regent. From week to week her council and her officers never knew whether she meant to go on or to draw back; but she did go on.

1560. **English help, January.**

The English troops settled down to the siege of Leith, which held out stubbornly. But the death of the regent herself in June was decisive. The Treaty of Leith or Edinburgh was negotiated and signed on 6th July between the English and the French in Scotland. The terms were: a complete withdrawal of the French, the acknowledgment that Elizabeth was queen of England, and the promise of the toleration demanded by the Lords of the Congregation. Mary Stuart's refusal to ratify the treaty was of minor consequence; the expulsion of the French had secured absolutely the ascendency of the party of the Reformation in Scotland. The tension was further relaxed when, later in the year, Francis II. died and was succeeded by his youthful brother, Charles IX. The new French king was under the domination of his mother, Katharine de Medici, who became the real ruler of France. The ascendency of the Guises, the uncles of Mary Stuart, was broken; they were the representatives of the extreme Catholic and anti-English party in France, and it was Katharine's policy to preserve a balance between Catholics and Huguenots. Mary was no longer

The Treaty of Leith, July.

queen of France, and France had no longer the same interest in seating her on the throne of England, although as far as Philip of Spain was concerned her accession was still too dangerous to be permitted. In 1561 Mary, being then in her nineteenth year, returned to the land of her birth, which for the next seven years became a tragic stage.

What was in some sense a private episode demands here a brief notice. Lord Robert Dudley's wife, Amy Robsart, died in 1560. The evidence points to murder, but not, on the whole, to Dudley's complicity. Dudley, who was presently made earl of Leicester, remained as conspicuously as before the favourite of the queen, who kept the possibility of her marriage to him in reserve as a means to her favourite amusement of tormenting her ministers and exasperating foreign ambassadors. It was long before the favourite himself finally realised that, however fascinating she might find him, she was far too sane to marry him. Still, that possible complication repeatedly enters into the diplomatic intriguing of the decade. So seriously were politicians perturbed by it that Cecil himself was suspected of conniving at a secret marriage which took place between Katharine Grey and Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, with the possible intention of asserting Katharine Grey's claim to the throne in the event of Elizabeth's marriage to Dudley.

II. France, Spain, and Scotland, 1560-1568

In 1568 Mary Stuart became Elizabeth's captive, and remained for the rest of her life a prisoner in the hands of the English queen. That fact was for more than eighteen years a dominant, if not the predominant, feature in the situation. About the same date affairs in France had so developed that that country was divided between the hostile camps of Catholics and Huguenots, who for thirty years to come were always either actually fighting or in a state of very precarious truce. By that date also the relations between Philip of Spain and his subjects in the Netherlands had become so strained that a war was on the verge of breaking out which was only brought

1561-8. Abroad.

to a close after forty years by the virtual, though not even then formal, recognition of the independence of the northern Netherlands—known officially as the United Provinces, and unofficially by the name of one state, Holland. Also the year 1563 saw the end of the Council of Trent, which had been sitting at intervals from 1545 onwards. That council finally laid down the definitions which cut off from what Rome called the Catholic Church all the other Churches, which Rome called heretical sects; with the consequence that in popular parlance the name of Catholics was appropriated to those within the pale and the name of Protestants to those outside it, although large numbers among the latter bodies were not in the technical sense Protestants, and were in their own view no less members of the Catholic Church than the Romanists.

During these years, from the Treaty of Leith to Queen Mary's flight into England, England was engaged in endeavouring to avoid foreign entanglements, in confirming at home the new settlement of religion, and in carrying through the economic reforms which were an essential condition of her stability. But Englishmen were also developing the seamanship which was presently to make them decisively victorious in the great struggle with Spain; and the year 1567 witnessed the incident which may be regarded as specifically opening, though unofficially, the duel for supremacy on the seas—the adventure of Hawkins and Drake at San Juan D'Ulloa. England during these years advanced from a condition of apparently extreme instability to one of complete stability, by sound administration along the lines already laid down. Her Protestantism became steadily more marked; for the queen's ministers were more Protestant than the queen herself, the House of Commons was more Protestant than the ministers, while the mariners, if not the country at large, were more Protestant than the House of Commons. The reformed administration of the national finances restored national credit and commercial confidence. Industrial conditions were improved by the Statute of Apprentices of 1563; the rural depression was passing away with the cessation of enclosures, due to the arrival of an equilibrium

and in England.

between the profits of tillage and of pasture and the adjustment between the demand and the supply of rural labour. But of this progress there is no story. The stories which were fraught with so much importance for the future of England were being worked out in other countries—in France, in the Netherlands, and most dramatically of all, in Scotland. How they were also being worked out on the Spanish Main and in Ireland we shall see hereafter.

In France the government had always, until the death of Francis II., been opposed to the spread of reformed doctrines within the country, but had been politically quite ready to make common cause with Protestants in other countries if French interests were expected to profit thereby. Nevertheless, within the country Calvinism had gripped large sections of the population as it had done in Scotland, and many of the nobility, whether from conviction or from political motives, had taken their stand on the same side. The Huguenot leaders were the princes of the house of Bourbon, Anthony, king of Navarre, and his brother Condé, on whom the succession to the crown would devolve if none of the four sons of Henry II. left a male heir of his body. The recognised leaders of the fanatical Catholics were the Guises, the uncles of Mary Stuart. Guise influence was supreme until the death of Francis II. and the accession of Charles IX., when the queen-mother, Katharine de Medici, acquired the ascendency.

France: Catholics and Huguenots.

This, however, did not mean a Huguenot domination, since Katharine was the central figure of the party who became known as the *Politiques*, who took an entirely political view of the religious question whether in domestic or in foreign affairs, and sought to balance the Catholic against the Huguenot leaders without being dominated by either. Toleration was Katharine's cue; but an edict in favour of the Huguenots in 1562 roused Catholic fanaticism. Both parties took up arms, Anthony of Navarre was killed, leaving as his heir the boy who afterwards became Henry IV.; the leadership of the Huguenots was vested in Condé and Admiral Coligny; there was an indecisive battle at Dreux; and then the assassination of the duke of Guise enabled Katharine to recover her ascendency by the

The Politiques.

Treaty of Amboise in 1563, and to confirm the edict of toleration. The regent, however, was distrusted by the Huguenots, and was suspected of intending to act in collusion with the Spanish government for the general suppression of heresy by force. Hence there was a fresh Huguenot revolt in 1567. It was brought to an end by another peace, confirming the Treaty of Amboise, but also confirming Katharine in her secret conviction that the Huguenots were more dangerous to her than the Catholics.

Spain and the Netherlands.

The Spanish dominion in Europe at this time comprised in the Mediterranean the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, and Sicily; in Italy the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan; and the Burgundian inheritance of the Netherlands, besides the county of Burgundy or Franche Comté. The Spanish line of communication with the Netherlands was by sea, Spain's provinces on the east of France not being contiguous. Now the northern half of the Netherlands had for the most part adopted a Calvinistic type of the reformed religion, in spite of occasionally severe pressure from Charles v. The southern provinces had in the main held by the old faith. Philip developed a conviction that he was the appointed champion of the true faith, the destroyer of heresy, though that view of himself did not preclude him from quarrelling with the Pope on occasion. He was determined to suppress heresy at large, and more particularly within his own dominion. But he was also bent on establishing his own autocracy, on making the Netherlands a province of the Spanish kingdom in defiance of the established rights of self-government, Burgundy having only become accidentally associated with Spain through the marriage of Charles v.'s parents.

Philip's repressive policy.

The head of the Netherlands, Philip's regent or viceroy, was his half-sister Margaret, duchess of Parma. Had Philip been content to insist on the suppression of heresy in the northern provinces, the rest of the Netherlands would have raised no objection; but his suppression of the constitutional rights of the nobles forced south as well as north into antagonism. They objected to being dominated by Spanish governors and officials and Spanish garrisons. Incidentally the religious persecution drove considerable numbers of the

Protestant Flemings to seek safer quarters in England and elsewhere. Suspicions of an International Catholic League for the general suppression of heretics, and hatred of the methods of the Inquisition, which for many years past had been established both in Spain and in the Netherlands, brought about the formation in the Netherlands of a counter-league for the defence of Protestantism, complicated by the spirit of resistance to the unconstitutional Spanish domination.

Philip was thereby only stiffened in his designs, and the temperate Margaret of Parma was superseded in 1567 by the duke of Alva, with a Spanish army under his command to enforce his authority. The constitutional character of the struggle was emphasised by the arrest of the constitutional chiefs, Counts Egmont and Horn, both Catholics; a third, William the Silent, prince of Nassau and Orange (which lies in Provence), escaped to his dominions, which lay outside the Burgundian territory, and soon became the heart and soul and brain of the northern Protestant defiance. Meanwhile Alva instituted a reign of blood and iron, which excited the protests even of Philip's cousin Maximilian, who had now succeeded his father Ferdinand as German emperor. At the moment when Alva imagined that he had completely terrorised the Netherlanders into obedience, they broke out into rebellion, and the long war of Dutch independence was opened by the battle of Heiligerlee in May 1568. Immediately afterwards Egmont and Horn were executed.

Alva.

In these proceedings England took no part; but for a short time she did attempt intervention in France, by no means to her own ultimate advantage. In the first Huguenot war of 1562 Condé intrigued for English help, and went so far as to admit an English garrison to Havre, and to promise the restitution of Calais as the reward of English help. By doing so he damaged his own cause with the French. It would have been sound policy for Elizabeth to avoid pressing the claim to Calais, of which the restitution had been part of the bargain at Cateau Cambrésis; but, by insisting on it, she emphasised the unpatriotic character of a section of the Huguenots, lost the confidence of the rest, and gained nothing. For at the

Elizabeth and the Huguenots.

Treaty of Amboise her allies could not venture to insist on the fulfilment of their pledges to her among the conditions of peace, and Elizabeth, who had certainly done nothing conspicuously deserving of reward, had to retire empty-handed. English intervention had, in fact, amounted to little more than the unauthorised accession of a body of English volunteers to the Huguenot forces.

Scotland: Mary's return, 1561.

The return of Queen Mary to Scotland was desired by both parties in that country. The Catholics expected her to further their cause; the victorious party reckoned that without French aid she could not resist their domination, and the chances of French aid, sufficiently damaged by the Treaty of Leith, were destroyed by the death of Francis II. and the disfavour with which the regent, Katharine, viewed the whole Guise connection, and her daughter-in-law in particular. Mary could hardly help leaning upon her very capable and influential half-brother, Lord James Stuart, who was at the head of the Lords of the Congregation, was in close alliance with John Knox and the preachers, and was at the same time supported by the acutest intellect in the country, Maitland of Lethington. The pressing need of the reformers for support from England had disappeared; and the politicians were now rather turning their minds to securing the queen's ultimate succession to the throne of England than to schemes involving her deposition. The rivalry between the two cousins became acute from the moment of Mary's landing, and the most prominent object of manœuvring on both sides was the question of a husband for the queen of Scots, even as the corresponding question in England was a perpetual source of anxiety to Elizabeth's ministers.

Prospective husbands for Mary.

To Elizabeth it was of first-rate importance that Mary's marriage—for that she should not marry at all was almost unthinkable—should neither loosen her bond with France nor substitute for it a bond with Spain. The best husband for her, from Elizabeth's point of view, would be either some one politically insignificant or some one over whom Elizabeth herself could exercise a para-

mount influence. Fortunately for her, Philip was not over-eager that Mary should marry either of the two possible Hapsburg candidates for her hand, his son Don Carlos or his cousin, the Archduke Charles—whom Elizabeth wished, not indeed to marry, but to keep in the list of her own suitors. Katharine of France was not inclined to favour another alternative, the marriage of Mary to her young brother-in-law, Charles IX. Other possible candidates were her two cousins, Arran and Darnley, the son of Lennox, who stood respectively first and second for the succession to the Scottish throne as both descending from Mary, the daughter of James II.; while in some circumstances Darnley himself might be put forward as Elizabeth's successor.

A woman less daring and less self-reliant than the young queen of Scots might well have placed herself entirely in the hands of her brother, Lord James Stuart, but she was no less resolved than Elizabeth herself to play her own game in her own way. She revolted against Moray's sombreness, and she loathed John Knox and the preachers, who bullied and lectured their queen with an assumption of authority modelled on the attitude of Samuel and Elijah to the monarchs of Israel—with the grim conviction that, if Mary once got the upper hand, she would in return treat them as Jezebel treated the prophets. To get the upper hand was what Mary wanted, and for a considerable time she tried to attain her end by a deference to her brother—who was raised to the earldoms of Mar and Moray—and even to some extent to the preachers. But neither Moray nor Knox believed in her deference or trusted her ultimate intentions.

Mary, Knox, and Moray.

Now when Mary at last felt certain that she would be unable to secure either Don Carlos or the Archduke Charles; when Elizabeth had shown conclusively that she was not going to commit herself by publicly acknowledging Mary as her heir-presumptive, and had further insulted her cousin by offering her the hand of Leicester; the Scots queen made up her mind that she could best achieve her object by marrying Darnley. Had Darnley been a young man of ordinary capacity, even with sense enough to know when it was

1565. The Darnley marriage.

wise to efface himself, there would have been much to say for the plan from Mary's point of view. He, like herself, was a grandchild of Henry VIII.'s elder sister. Born and bred in England, he could not be barred from the English succession on the score that he was an alien; the joint claim would be difficult to set aside in favour of Katharine Seymour, though she still stood first under the will of Henry VIII. He was a Catholic, and would command the support of English Catholics and of the king of Spain. The idea presented itself in a different light to Elizabeth. The Darnley marriage would intensify Protestant antagonism to a Stuart succession in England, and would at once excite the alarm of the Lords of the Congregation. As for Philip, his approval was not at all likely to take the form of active intervention; and Mary could have lighted upon no man with defects of character quite so ruinous. Elizabeth would not have been herself if, in the circumstances, she had openly encouraged the match; on the contrary, she discouraged it, and placed impediments in the way. But she allowed Darnley to go to Scotland, and within six months Mary married him, in July 1565.

Moray and the Hamiltons, the Arran connection, were already in arms to oppose the marriage; but though Elizabeth privately fostered disaffection in her cousin's kingdom, she would not give open assistance to open rebels. By October Moray had beaten a retreat to England. There was indeed no reason to foment mischief; no help was wanted. Darnley was a vicious, brainless boy; Mary was a fascinating, self-willed, clever young woman, dependent on her own wits and wiles, since there was never a one among the Scots lords on whom she could bestow confidence. That confidence was given to her clever Italian secretary, David Rizzio, to the rage and disgust of the lords and the frantic jealousy of Darnley. Lawless violence was a customary feature in Scottish politics. Sundry of the nobles entered into a 'band' with Darnley for the secretary's destruction. In February 1566 the conspirators broke into the queen's apartments in Holyrood Palace, laid violent hands upon Rizzio, and stabbed him to death almost under Mary's eyes.

The murder of Rizzio, February 1566.

Mary never forgot a friend nor forgave a foe. If she had not hated Darnley before, she hated him now. But her one weapon was dissimulation; there was no one she could count on to fight for her unless it was perhaps the ruffianly James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell. The most obvious of the conspirators were banished. Moray's absence made it possible to pretend to believe that he was entirely free from guilt in the matter. He was taken into favour, and Mary was formally reconciled with others of the nobles whose complicity was less doubtful even than Moray's. She professed reconciliation with Darnley himself. A child was born, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. But Darnley was intolerable, to the nobles as well as to Mary; in addition to his other unbearable faults, he would not keep his incapable fingers out of politics. Lethington and others made tentative suggestions to Mary for his removal. Darnley fell ill, there was another display of reconciliation, and the queen brought him back to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where they were lodged together in a house chosen by Bothwell, called Kirk o' Field. There, one evening, Mary left him to attend the nuptial festivities of one of her maids of honour. That night Kirk o' Field was blown up, and in the morning Darnley's dead body was found hard by, bearing no actual marks of violence.

Mary dissimulates.

1567. Murder of Darnley.

That Bothwell was the prime agent in the plot, and that Maitland and Morton were privy to it, is scarcely open to question. As concerns Mary herself, the circumstances point to her complicity, yet they are actually compatible with her entire innocence. The only conclusive direct evidence is in the documents subsequently produced in the famous casket, and their value depends entirely upon the question whether it was possible for them to have been in part forged. As they stand, if no forger had a hand in them, Mary's complete guilt is established. The whole thing turns upon a single letter. Apart from that letter, the rest of the documents, of which the authenticity is not in effect open to question, prove conclusively Mary's hatred for Darnley and her passion for Bothwell. They do

Was Mary guilty?

not prove that she was actively engaged in any plot for Darnley's murder. As to the one letter, it is not credible that it was forged from beginning to end; no one but a Shakespeare could have invented it. But it is conceivable that forged passages were interpolated, though we are again confronted with almost insuperable difficulties in the way of interpolation; while, on the other hand, there is evidence that the document, as we have it, differed in important particulars from the genuine document which fell into the hands of Mary's enemies. There the matter must rest, an insoluble riddle, to which every possible answer seems equally incredible.

But the evidence which convinced the world was not that of the casket. The trial and acquittal of the indubitable murderer, Bothwell, were a mere farce; and almost immediately afterwards Bothwell himself abducted the queen and married her, though with a show of force to cover appearances. The lords at once took arms; Bothwell, accompanied by the queen, took the field against them. The forces met at Carberry hill; Bothwell fled, and escaped from the country, and Mary fell into the hands of the victorious lords (June). They kept the infant prince in their own hands, and shut Mary up in Lochleven Castle, where she was compelled to sign a deed of abdication in favour of her son, appointing Moray regent. In May next year (1568) she escaped from her prison. A few followers rallied to her standard, but they were routed by the government troops at Langside on 13th May. Three days later the fugitive queen had crossed the Solway and thrown herself upon the generosity of her cousin Elizabeth, who had been clamouring for her release and denouncing the rebellion of subjects against their lawful sovereign.

The Bothwell marriage.

Langside, May 1568.

III. The Art of Balancing, 1568-1578

Elizabeth's solution of the problem presented to her was entirely characteristic. She could not simply send Mary back to take her chance among her rebellious subjects. She did not wish to restore her by the force of English arms, because that would

revive in its full force the old antagonism of Scotland to England. She could not afford to give Mary free passage to France, which the Scots queen demanded as an alternative, because she could not with equanimity see a renewal of Mary of Lorraine's attempt to set up in Scotland a French government, or a government entirely committed to the old French alliance. But so long as she had Mary in England she could bridle the queen's friends by the threat of surrendering her to the Scots lords, and she could bridle the Scots lords by threats of her restoration. Also there would be always a possibility of finding an adequate reason for putting her to death should such an extreme course seem advisable. Mary would, of course, be a danger, as a figurehead for the forces of disaffection and of hostile foreign intrigues, on account of her claim to the English crown; but the risk was worth taking for the sake of the diplomatic use which might be made of the prisoner. At the same time Mary was clever and fascinating; therefore the danger must be reduced as far as possible by carefully fostering the discredit which her crimes, or her errors, or her ill-fortune, or a combination of all three, had brought upon her; but the discredit must not reach the point of an actual demonstration of her guilt, if she was guilty; it was advisable only to encourage the general belief in her iniquity. To this line Elizabeth held for eighteen years; then she at last allowed herself to be persuaded that the moment had come when the utility of the living captive no longer outweighed the advantages of her death.

Elizabeth and Mary.

To this end, Elizabeth almost immediately demanded that the Scots lords should exonerate themselves for their rebellious conduct, while Mary was conducted from the border to safer quarters at Bolton. There was too much Catholic sentiment in the north, and the lords and the gentry there were too much inclined to sympathise with Mary, for security. The Scots lords were quite ready to defend themselves. A commission of investigation was appointed, consisting of Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, who had an intimate knowledge of Scotland. Moray and Maitland desired Mary's condemnation no more than Elizabeth; moreover, there was no jurisdiction in

1568. A commission.

the matter. In theory the inquiry was not a trial at law; but by it Elizabeth got precisely what she wanted, the production of sufficient evidence against Mary to satisfy public opinion of her guilt. Neither at York, where the commission at first sat, nor at Westminster, where it sat again after being reconstituted, was Mary given any opportunity of rebutting the evidence. Still, while the public at large took it that Mary had no answer to give, those who were already her partisans, or felt strong inducements to become so, could find their warrant in the injustice which had virtually prevented her from clearing herself. Meanwhile she remained a prisoner.

A Marian party.

Now there was a section of the country, strongest in the north, which had an intense dislike to Elizabeth's Protestant government and to Cecil as its mainspring. That section was eager for the succession at least, if not the immediate accession, of the Catholic queen of Scots. There was another section among the older families, which detested Cecil as an upstart and desired the restoration of aristocratic influence. That section also favoured the succession of Mary Stuart, which was the bug-bear of Cecil and the vigorous Protestants. Between these two groups was generated the idea of annulling Mary's marriage with Bothwell and marrying her to Norfolk, the premier noble and the only duke in England, and having the succession definitely fixed upon their offspring to the exclusion of the Seymours, the favourites of the Protestant party.

As a matter of course, this Marian party leaned to Philip of Spain and to the Guise party in France, while Cecil and the Protestants leaned to the Huguenots and the Protestants and Constitutionalists of the Netherlands. Elizabeth, whatever her personal sympathies might be, knew that her own interests were bound up with those of Cecil and of Protestantism; but it was exceedingly doubtful whether his party would maintain its ascendency. Cecil played an exceedingly bold stroke, which was warranted by its success. After the initial success at Heiligerlee the revolt in the Netherlands seemed doomed to failure. Still, Alva was in want of money; money was coming to him from Spain in Genoese ships.

Cecil seizes the treasure fleet, December.

Those ships were forcibly brought into English harbours, and Elizabeth 'borrowed' the money. The strength of Cecil's position was demonstrated when Philip failed to make this surprisingly high-handed proceeding a *casus belli*. But it had a further ruinous effect upon Spanish policy in the Netherlands. Alva seized all English goods within his jurisdiction; Elizabeth responded in kind, and the Spaniards lost a great deal more than the English. Then Alva, in desperation, imposed an intolerable tax upon the Netherlanders, which trebled the intensity of their hatred towards the Spanish dominion.

The English lords were very unequally matched with the astuteness of Cecil, and by July 1569 his ascendency in the council was once more established. The outcome of the contest was the rebellion of the north, headed by the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland. If the original designs of the not too intelligent conspirators had taken effect, Norfolk would have been with them, and possibly help from Alva; they would have released Mary, married her to the duke, and compelled Elizabeth to submit to their domination. But their plans had been outmanœuvred, Norfolk was in effect under arrest, and the earls rebelled, because they thought that their only hope of safety lay in striking first. In November they rose for the Catholic religion; but Mary was hurried away out of their reach; and six weeks after the first outbreak the earls' forces had dissolved and the earls themselves were refugees. Moray in Scotland had taken care that they should get no help from the turbulent borderers. Yet Lord Dacre, who before had held aloof, from personal hostility to Norfolk, attempted to renew the revolt in January, with disastrous results for himself. The government dealt heavily with the rebels; the executions numbered not far short of a thousand. A stern lesson was needed; for the assassination of the Regent Moray at the moment of Dacre's rising made Elizabeth's relations with Scotland exceedingly precarious for the time being. She had given Moray little enough help, but she was very well aware that his services to her had been invaluable. Thus ended the last attempt of the remnant of the feudal aristocracy to assert

1569. The Northern Rebellion.

Feudalism's last effort.

themselves against the Crown. The future lay with the new families. The men who achieved the glories of Elizabeth's reign were all of houses unassociated with the old aristocracy.

This was the moment chosen by Pope Pius v. for an irresistible invitation to the English government to regard adherence to Romanist doctrines as *prima facie* evidence of treason. At the beginning of 1570 he issued a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and deposing her. It followed inevitably that recognition of the papal authority involved repudiation of allegiance to Elizabeth. One effect was that many of those who had been secretly disposed in favour of the Papacy, now driven to choose between loyalty to the Pope and loyalty to the Crown, became definitely Protestants in the political sense. The other effect was that every one who was under suspicion of papalism was also under suspicion of disloyalty; and the rigour of the laws against popish practices was intensified. English Catholics had no reason to be grateful to the Pope for his ill-timed pronouncement, while the Protestants rejoiced, because it compelled the government to be more emphatically Protestant than before.

1570. The Bull of Deposition.

Meanwhile France, too, was providing Protestants with encouragement. The truce between Catholics and Huguenots had not lasted long. The arms of the Huguenots met with reverses, yet they were not to be crushed. In 1570 a truce was again called, and it appeared that the Huguenot leader, Coligny, was likely to acquire a predominant influence for himself and his party. A Huguenot ascendency in the French government pointed to a prospect of a French alliance antagonistic to Spain; and proposals were mooted for a marriage between Elizabeth and Henry of Anjou, brother and heir-presumptive of the French king, with a view to the reconciliation of both religions to the government of both countries, which, united, could frustrate Philip's aggressive designs.

The Huguenots in France.

Such a prospect was by no means to the liking either of Philip or of the Catholic irreconcilables among Elizabeth's subjects. A new plot, known as Ridolfi's, from the name of an Italian banker who was a prime mover in it, was started for the marriage of

Mary and Norfolk, and the deposition at least of Queen Elizabeth, by Spanish aid. On the other hand, Elizabeth was obliged to call a parliament in 1571 in order to ask for supplies, and the Commons proved to be aggressively loyal and somewhat inconveniently Protestant from the queen's personal point of view. Parliamentary sanction, hitherto refused, was given to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Prayer-Book, and an Act was passed by way of a retort to the papal Bull of Deposition. If the Commons had had their way, they would have disqualified from the succession any one who had asserted a title to the crown of England, so definitely barring Mary; but this was modified so as to apply only to any one who should assert such a title in the future. It was made high treason to question Elizabeth's title or to call her a heretic.

1571. An aggressive parliament.

Meanwhile Elizabeth was upsetting her ministers and her envoys in Paris by her calculated vacillations on the subject of the Anjou marriage. They, desiring the marriage, were tormented by contradictory instructions, varying from week to week; because Elizabeth's own intention was to back out of it, but to fix the responsibility for the failure of the plan on the French. Her ingenuity was successful, and Anjou himself discovered reasons for breaking off the negotiations without producing any breach between the two courts.

The Anjou marriage project.

In September the Ridolfi plot was exposed. Cecil, recently created Baron Burghley, who had long been watching it through his spies, procured enough information to warrant the seizure of some of the agents, and the whole plot was revealed. Norfolk, who had been set at liberty after the northern rising, was proved to be implicated, and was sent to the block. The complicity of the Spanish ambassador, Don Guerau de Spes, was proved, and he was dismissed from the country. A Spanish invasion and the assassination of Elizabeth had formed a part of the scheme. Elizabeth, however, refused to take any steps against Mary; no incriminating evidence was produced, though the public, of course, assumed that she was at the bottom of the conspiracy.

The Ridolfi plot.

The result was that when a new parliament met in May 1572 it demanded the Scots queen's attainder. She was not an English subject and could not be attainted, but the thing had got beyond the possibility of technically legal treatment. There was no government in Europe which in the existing conditions would have hesitated to put Mary to death. Elizabeth, in spite of her ministers and in spite of public opinion, entirely refused. Her action cannot be attributed to a magnanimity which she never displayed; but the sanctity of crowned heads was one of her very strongest convictions. Mary's execution would be an irrevocable step, and she loathed irrevocable steps; and she still thought that, in the balance of risks, more might be made out of a live Mary than would be gained by killing her. As to Mary herself, it must be observed that she had every right to attempt to escape from her captivity by any possible means short of assassination; and no politician of the day outside of England had any qualms about assassination if the assassin could be relied upon to dissociate himself from any connection with princes and ministers. Mary knew that the Ridolfi plot was on foot, she always claimed her right to appeal to foreign princes to aid her; but there was never any direct evidence until 1586 that she countenanced her cousin's assassination; and in 1586 it is possible, and not altogether improbable, that the decisive evidence against her was forged.

1572. The queen and Mary.

Henry of Anjou's withdrawal had allowed a fresh negotiation to be started, equally insincere on Elizabeth's part, whereby the third of the surviving French brothers, Francis of Alençon, was to take Henry's place. It mattered little that both the French princes were nearly twenty years younger than the queen. But events on the Continent were about to produce a sudden overturning of the whole political situation. First, in October 1571 the combined Spanish and Venetian fleet inflicted a great defeat upon the Turks at Lepanto, a triumph attributed to Philip's illegitimate half-brother, Don John of Austria. This check to the Moslem advance relaxed the strain upon Philip and added prestige to the Spanish arms. Within six months there came a reverse for

Alençon, Lepanto, and Brille.

Spain. Many of the Netherlanders had betaken themselves to the sea and to more or less open piracy to escape the grip of Alva. They waged a miscellaneous war with the Spaniards, and received much help of a kind that was hardly even surreptitious from the English ports. Publicly Elizabeth ordered their removal from English harbours, privately she connived at the assistance given to them. In March 1572 the Hollanders, under de la Marck, cleared out of Dover; but within a few days they had sailed into the Meuse and captured the town of Brille. This was beyond reasonable doubt the concerted signal for a general conflagration; and Alva discovered that the whole country, which he supposed to be under his heel, was in a flame of revolt.

Burghley and his not less able colleague, Francis Walsingham, a rigorous Protestant, who was now serving as Elizabeth's envoy at Paris, imagined that the queen was this time in earnest over the Alençon project, anticipated a definite Huguenot ascendency in France, and looked for a vigorous intervention in the Netherlands as the result. The reconciliation of the parties in France was about to be completed by the marriage of the Huguenot head of the Bourbons, Henry of Navarre, to the French princess, Margaret. Shrewd as they were, they had not reckoned on Guise fanaticism, or on the length Katharine was prepared to go to preserve her own ascendency. The French queen-mother saw the great Huguenot leader, Admiral Coligny, acquiring over the mind of the still youthful Charles IX. an influence which filled her with alarm. The Huguenots were gathering in their thousands to Paris to join in the celebration of the royal marriage, which took place on 18th August. On the sixth morning thereafter the streets of Paris were running red with the blood of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On a low estimate, not less than twenty thousand Huguenots were slaughtered by the Paris mob, which broke loose from all control, and the appalling example was promptly followed in other towns and districts where Huguenots were in the minority. All chance of a Protestant alliance which should include France was destroyed. But the Paris massacre aroused a passion of indignant wrath, which gave a new fire to the zeal

St. Bartholomew.

A rupture with France.

of fervid Protestants, and aroused zeal in the Cause where heretofore there had been a somewhat careless indifference. From this time at least the mass of Englishmen thirsted for the country to take the lead in bidding defiance to Rome and to every champion of Rome.

But Elizabeth was not moved by that passion. Probably she had realised that sooner or later England would have to try conclusions with Spain, but she did not mean that day to come so long as wit and luck gave her the power to put it off. It very soon became evident that the massacre had not been the outcome of a deep-laid plot between the Catholic powers, as had at first been suspected. Katharine had only wanted to secure her own supremacy, to strike a blow at the Huguenot leaders, not to destroy the Protestantism which she could utilise as a counterpoise to Guise influence. She did not want the French government to take service under Philip, which would have been the inevitable result of its alliance with the king of Spain. She had blundered, and was only anxious to retrieve her error and to recover the goodwill of England.

On the other hand, Spain was mainly anxious not to open an attack upon England but to prevent an Anglo-French alliance. She made use of the rupture, the wrath of England against the French government, to renew amicable relations, and by so doing to leave the Netherlanders without hope of effective assistance. So when Mons, which was held by the insurgents, was forced to surrender, the garrison were treated with ostentatious magnanimity, by way of contrast to the Paris outrage. Outward amity with Spain was entirely to the taste of Elizabeth, who very much disliked the rôle of a patroness of rebels. In 1573 an actual alliance with Spain was achieved. Commerce was reopened with the Low Countries, the English were forbidden to fight for the rebels in the Netherlands, and Spain withdrew her protection from the English exiles, the irreconcilables who were endeavouring from abroad to undermine the established government in England.

Rapprochement with Spain.

During the year Alva was recalled at his own request, and his place was taken by Requesens, whose policy it was to defeat the

revolt not by military rigour but by detaching the southern from the northern Netherlands. If the Catholic south were conciliated, the process of crushing the Protestant north would presumably be made so much the easier. 1573. Goodwill. England also must be conciliated, and Elizabeth must be persuaded to restrain the hostility of her mariners to Spain; for so long as they were allowed to go their own way, the communications between Spain and the Netherlands were perpetually menaced.

So France was left to arrange her own internal struggles, and Orange was left to fight his own battles; while England and Spain officially proclaimed their mutual goodwill and their earnest desire to remove those grounds of dispute which still unfortunately stood in the way of a perfect harmony. Philip ejected from Douai the seminary where William Allen educated young English Catholics to spread the papalist propaganda in England; and Elizabeth put some Anabaptists to death.

But neither Elizabeth nor Philip had the slightest intention of giving way upon two absolutely fundamental points. Philip would not surrender the right claimed by the Inquisition of seizing heretics of whatever nationality in Spanish ports or on Spanish soil. Elizabeth would not acknowledge that English sailors who set the laws of Spain at defiance were punishable either as pirates or as heretics. And meanwhile in France political considerations seemed to be gradually overriding religious animosities. From a national point of view, it was to the interest of France to champion the cause of the obstinate Netherlanders, who were grimly determined never to submit to any terms of a kind which Philip would sanction. And William of Orange was well aware that the best way of gaining English support was to frighten Elizabeth with the prospect of a French protectorate of the Netherlands as the undesirable but necessary alternative to English aid. Rifts in the lute.

While the governments were making mild diplomatic concessions, each with mutual professions of goodwill and expressions of anxiety lest the amicable relations should be overstrained by the other's obstinacy on a point with regard to which it was

manifestly wrong, popular sentiment in England and in Spain was becoming more and more hostile. The English, in fact, were more than ready to try the arbitrament of war. Peace was preserved because neither Elizabeth nor Philip considered that the time had come. The only thing which could definitely force Elizabeth's hand would be French intervention on behalf of William of Orange; and that menace she endeavoured to avoid, or at least to defer, by reviving the idea of the Alençon marriage. Intervention in conjunction with France was a tolerable alternative to nonintervention. What was not to be thought of was the intervention of France alone or of England alone. A long experience had taught Elizabeth that she had no surer way of gaining time than by starting negotiations for a marriage. Henry of Anjou had succeeded Charles IX. on the throne of France in 1574, and Alençon had succeeded at the same time to the title of Anjou. But it may be found less confusing to refer to him still by the earlier title. He had associated himself with the Huguenot party; and it was this which gave plausibility to the matrimonial scheme.

1574. Re-enter Alençon.

The government of Requesens, by its comparative mildness, had provided some excuse for refusing active countenance to the persistent Hollanders. Requesens had succeeded in his aim of separating the south from the north. But in 1576 the governor died. Before a new governor arrived to take his place the Spanish troops, whose pay was in arrear, suddenly broke loose from restraint, and in what was called the 'Spanish Fury' pillaged and wrought havoc wherever they were quartered, in the south as well as in the north, and especially at Antwerp. The work of Requesens was undone; the whole of the provinces were reunited by the Pacification of Ghent, and combined to demand the withdrawal of Spanish troops and the concession of toleration to the Protestants of the north. The provinces refused to admit the new governor, Don John of Austria, until the concession should be granted.

1576. The Pacification of Ghent.

Don John had acquired a brilliant reputation, higher perhaps than his abilities warranted. He was popular and ambitious;

to Philip he was, as a matter of course, an object of extreme jealousy. Elizabeth counted on that jealousy to curb the most dangerous designs of which Don John was suspected. While the governor negotiated with the states-general of the provinces, Elizabeth pressed them to withdraw the demand for religious toleration—a hopeless proposal—and on the basis of this proof of goodwill negotiated with Philip. Early in 1577 it appeared that both the political demands of the United Provinces and England's demands with regard to English sailors in Spanish ports were to be conceded. Then the Netherlanders found that Don John's pacific programme was only meant to enable him to establish a footing in the provinces. They became defiant again; but in the meanwhile they had become disunited. The southern provinces proposed to bring in the Archduke Matthias of Austria, a Catholic, who was allowed to try his chances, which were shattered by Don John at the battle of Gemblours in January 1578. French intervention had been turned aside through a recovery of power by the Guise faction, to which the unstable Alençon had attached himself. On the whole it appeared to Elizabeth that she could afford to leave matters alone in the Netherlands. The forces were sufficiently balanced to make it tolerably certain that the Netherlanders would not be able to eject Don John, and that Don John would not be able to crush them, for some time to come.

1577. **Divided counsels.**

The relations with Philip became so friendly that a Spanish ambassador was once more accredited to the English court, Bernardino de Mendoza. Orange played the same card as before. The northern provinces would not give way on the question of religious freedom; for that they would fight to the last gasp, and if Elizabeth would not support them they would offer the leadership to Alençon. Elizabeth's response was as before; she renewed the proposal of her marriage to Alençon, the initial condition being his rejection of Orange's offer. But once again her astonishing good fortune came to her aid. Her great fear had been lest Don John should succeed in a project for marrying the queen of Scots; but

1578. **Orange and Alençon.**

Don John died suddenly. His successor was the greatest soldier of the age, Alexander of Parma, Philip's nephew; and she could be tolerably sure that Parma would confine himself to the serious business of bringing the United Provinces into subjection.

At the same time there occurred another event which must compel France to be anxious for the English alliance. King Sebastian of Portugal was killed on an expedition to Algiers; he was succeeded by a great-uncle, Henry, a cardinal, who could not possibly leave any heirs of his body; and King Philip claimed, through his mother, to stand next in succession to the crown of Portugal. When Portugal should be united to Spain, an alliance between the French government and Philip could only involve the complete subordination of France, and therefore French interests imperatively required the cultivation of English friendship.

Portugal.

IV. Ireland, 1547-1578

During the second half of Elizabeth's reign Irish affairs take a prominent place among current matters of state; the condition of Ireland is a constant factor in the relations between England on the one side and Spain and the Papacy on the other. Until this time the sister island had only affected English policy in an occasional and spasmodic fashion. Ireland had been an outlying province, left for the most part to its own devices, not making itself felt, and not being treated, as an integral portion of the English State. The story of the reigns of Edward VI., of Mary, and of Elizabeth down to the twentieth year from her accession, has been told without any reference to it at all. But while Irish affairs were having no direct effect upon affairs in England, events were there taking place during these years which soon forced her upon the reluctant attention of English statesmen, and of Englishmen who were not statesmen, and were preparing her to be for centuries a perpetual thorn in the side of her greater neighbour.

Irish relations.

The process had indeed begun when Ireland was an asylum for Yorkists, and still more for pretenders to the throne of

Henry VII. Consequently the first Tudors, more than their predecessors, had seriously attempted to establish something more like an Irish government than had been known in the past. Poynings' Law had formulated some sort of constitution, and for administrative purposes Henry VII. had found it best to entrust the ablest and most powerful nobleman in Ireland, Kildare, with an effective control. When Kildare died leaving no one to take his place, when there was no Irishman who could be trusted to 'rule all Ireland,' Henry VIII. had vacillated between the policies of repressing and of conciliating the Irish magnates; but both policies were worked on a scale too parsimonious to be effective until the exceptional skill of Anthony St. Leger combined them successfully for a time in the latter years of the reign.

Under Henry VII. and VIII.

St. Leger's successor, Bellingham, during his brief rule had entirely dropped the policy of conciliation for that of repression, since the magnates had begun to revert to their natural preference for disregarding English law. Bellingham had been successful enough, but his rule was brief, and after his departure in 1549 the Irish government paid the penalty for the incompetence of the successive governments in England. Government by the strong hand, government which could make itself felt, required to have disciplined troops and a reasonable amount of money at its disposal. In Ireland both those requisites were wanting. English law ran within the Pale, which had been extended so as to include the greater part of the province of Leinster; outside the Pale the great chiefs, who were all equally Irish, whether they were Norman Fitzgeralds, Burkes and Butlers, or Celtic O'Neills, O'Donnells and O'Briens, followed their own devices as of yore.

Under Edward VI. and Mary.

In the north the two greatest magnates were O'Neill of Tyrone and O'Donnell of Tyrconnel, while there was a colony of Scottish M'Connells and others in Antrim, who owned some allegiance to the Scottish earl of Argyll. Tyrconnel and Tyrone were naturally rivals, as Butlers and Fitzgeralds were rivals in the south.

Now Con O'Neill, who had joined in most of the attacks on the English government from 1520 onward, got his reward,

the title of earl of Tyrone, in the conciliatory days of St. Leger. Under the Celtic rules of heredity, illegitimacy was not a bar to succession; and Tyrone wanted his favourite illegitimate son Matthew to succeed him. The English government agreed, but his eldest legitimate son, Shan O'Neill, did not. While Mary was still reigning in England, Shan succeeded in virtually deposing his father, and got himself recognised by the clan as 'the O'Neill.' He ruled the greater part of Ulster with a strong hand, keeping much better order than the English government in the Pale, though his methods were unconventional. Then he turned on Tyrconnel, raided his lands, and made himself in effect master of the whole of Ulster. Sussex, who from 1556 to 1564 was deputy in Ireland, was already alarmed at the development of Shan O'Neill's power. In 1561 he marched against the Irishman, who defeated and very nearly annihilated his force. Elizabeth, having in her mind the precedent of Henry VII. and Kildare, sent for Shan to England, granting him an amnesty for his transgressions, a safe-conduct, and his expenses. Shan came and studied English ways, which he did not regard as adapted to his native country. In his absence Ulster rapidly returned to a state of lawlessness, and Elizabeth was obliged to recognise that the one chance of keeping order was to let Shan go back with very full powers over the north.

Shan O'Neill.

Shan under Elizabeth.

But as soon as he was back in Ulster he began intriguing right and left with possible enemies of the English government. Sussex again tried to bring him to order, and again failed. It is curious to observe that Englishmen in Ireland throughout the reign of the Tudors could never free themselves from the idea that assassination and treachery of the most flagrant kind were quite permissible in dealing with Irishmen, and were crimes only when committed by Irishmen. The second failure to suppress Shan suggested the experiment of placing the three provinces which were outside the Pale under the presidency respectively of O'Neill and perhaps Clanricarde and Desmond. Shan kept his province in order, and that not out of love for the English government but because he was a

Shan master of Ulster.

born ruler of a barbaric type. It was tolerably obvious that his ultimate intention was to attempt the overthrow of the English power.

So a more vigorous deputy was sent to Ireland, in the person of Henry Sidney, in the beginning of 1566. Sidney found the Butlers and Fitzgeralds cutting each other's throats in the south, the Pale itself in a state of chaos, and O'Neill established almost as independent sovereign of the north. Shan declined to venture within the deputy's reach, and the deputy wrote for men and money to crush him as a necessary condition of restoring the supremacy of the English government. Elizabeth did not like wasting men and money in Ireland, and Sidney got only half what he wanted. On the other hand, Shan failed to get the support either of the Antrim Scots or of Desmond in the south; so Sidney was able to re-establish Tyrconnel as a friend of the English in the north-west, and to place a strong garrison in his new fort of Derry. Shan was hemmed in by enemies, tried vainly, by posing as an enthusiastic Catholic, to get help from the Guise faction in France, but soon found himself unable to maintain his resistance. He took refuge with the Antrim Scots, and there his career was ended in a brawl in 1567.

1566. Henry Sidney.

The end of Shan.

Shan had failed, but he had put into the heads of the Irish chiefs the idea of seeking alliances or help in the character of staunch upholders of the old religion; for the English Act of Uniformity applied in Ireland, although by far the greater part of the population clung to the old ways. Neither Philip nor the Guises took the slightest interest in Ireland, except so far as she might be used as a means to the annoyance of Elizabeth. But religion became a standing battle-ground between the English government and the Irish population; religious hostility was definitely added to what we must call racial antagonism, the antagonism not of the Celt but of the Irishman to the Englishman. And to these was now to be added a third factor.

Religious antagonism.

In order to establish the English ascendency the idea was conceived of instituting an English landed proprietary. It was

discovered that a great number of estates were held in Ireland by some title, which was good according to Irish traditional custom but was not valid in English law. A group of Devon adventurers proposed that these lands should be forfeited and should be handed over to them. After that they would take care of themselves and the lands at their own cost and with their own swords. The plan was carried out. The principal settlements were in the Desmond country. Of course, the Irish rose on all hands to resist what was in their eyes sheer robbery. In Munster in particular the new-comers were attacked and cut up, the leading part being played in 1569 by Desmond's kinsman, James Fitzmaurice. Ormond and the Butlers maintained their traditional loyalty, in spite of the fact that Sir Peter Carew had taken possession of some of the Butler lands; but they warned the government that if the colonising policy were carried further the strain would be too great. Sidney marched into Munster, dealt out condign punishment, and left Sir Humphrey Gilbert behind him to maintain order; which he did by acting on the principle that the Irish were what an Englishman in the Pale had once called them, 'bears and bandogs,' without those human qualities which the same Englishmen would recognise, even with passion, in the Indian victims of Spanish tyranny. Out of Ireland, Gilbert was the most humane, the most cultured, the most kind-hearted of men. But he treated the Irish much as if they had been a pack of wolves.

1568. Colonisation.

The idea of Irish presidencies under Irish chiefs had collapsed completely. The experiment was now tried of making Munster a presidency under Sir John Perrot, who may have been a son of Henry VIII. But Sir John proved too expensive for Elizabeth, and was withdrawn. Then Desmond, who had for some time been detained a prisoner in England on suspicion of treason, was allowed to return to his own country, ostensibly reconciled, but actually full of resentment.

An era of experiments.

It was the turn of the north to be made the subject of the next experiment. The earl of Essex, Walter Devereux, was in effect granted a large slice of Ulster as an estate on which he might try some ideal schemes of his own at his own expense. Ulster

was not adapted to ideal schemes. The Irishmen professed the utmost loyalty to the queen, but declined entirely to recognise the earl's authority. The earl's volunteers, instead of entering into his projects, deserted when they found that there was nothing to be got out of the country. Essex was rapidly converted to the normal English view of the preternatural depravity of all Irishmen. Having failed to rule Ulster ideally by the help of volunteers, Essex was now made official governor, with government troops at his disposal. But he stayed only long enough to entrap one of the O'Neill chiefs by a piece of sheer treachery, and to massacre a number of old men, women, and children on the island of Rathlin—apparently to his own complete satisfaction and to that of the authorities in England. And yet he had originally gone to Ireland with the most admirable intentions and a belief that he could win the Irish by pure reason and amiability. His own preconceptions were rudely dashed, whereupon he committed himself to the preconceptions of other people. As for attempting to understand the Irish point of view, neither Essex nor any one else seems to have thought of it. They only thought of imposing their own point of view on the Irish.

1573-6. Essex the elder.

Sidney, in response to his own repeated entreaties, had been recalled before Perrot was sent to Munster. He was now persuaded to return to Ireland, where in spite of his rigour he had won general respect and even some liking. The Irish hailed his return as at least promising an improvement on the other experiment. He preserved order, but inevitably he did so by the only methods which had even temporarily succeeded since the time of St. Leger. When he retired again in 1578 the Irish were as ready as ever they had been to break out in insurrection at the first convenient opportunity. The salvation of the English ascendency lay in the fact that the Irish chiefs and tribes were incapable of concerted action. Even Shan O'Neill had failed to combine them. A united Ireland might conceivably have expelled the English, but Ireland was never united.

1576-8. Sidney's return.

CHAPTER VII. ELIZABETH
(2) 'DUX FEMINA FACTI'

I. The Struggle approaches, 1578-1585

The queen's policy.

It is possible but not probable that Elizabeth would have herself viewed with equanimity a settlement of the Spanish problem in the Netherlands on the lines which she advocated publicly, the concession by Philip of the constitutional demands of the Netherlanders and the submission of the Netherlanders on the question of religion. That solution would have been bitterly resented by the majority of her own subjects, and it would have set Philip free from a perpetual and serious embarrassment; but it would have been in accordance with her theory that it lay with the Crown to direct and control the religion of its subjects. The fact, however, would rather seem to be that she was thoroughly alive to the intensity of the Hollanders' determination to fight for religious liberty to the last gasp. What she wanted was an excuse for refusing to give them open assistance so long as she could prevent their receiving that assistance from France, which she intended to effect by the new Alençon intrigue. The ministers in the country detested the whole business; their sympathy was with William of Orange, and, with very good reasons, they entirely distrusted Alençon. The proposed match was intensely unpopular; but Elizabeth did not mean to marry the French prince, she only wished to keep him dangling after her as long as she possibly could, and she could always delay any definite settlement on the plea that her subjects must be brought into a more reasonable frame of mind before the marriage could actually take place.

So she entered upon the new intrigue with zest, while Parma in the Netherlands again devoted himself to detaching the southern

from the northern provinces, and then to a steady inch-by-inch subjugation of the north. To Mendoza and Philip she appeared to be playing their game quite satisfactorily, while she herself derived an acute enjoyment from tricking them, tormenting her ministers, and fooling Alençon to the top of his bent. And while she and Philip were professing an amity in which neither of them believed, each was encouraging unofficial proceedings to the detriment of the other. Drake, with the queen's connivance, had started a year before on the great voyage round the world, in the course of which he was now robbing the Spaniards of some millions of treasure; English volunteers could not be restrained from joining the forces of William of Orange; and when an opportunity offered, Philip's subjects were allowed a corresponding licence.

Beneath the surface.

The opportunity came with the organisation of a papalist attack, with separate plans of campaign for Ireland, Scotland, and England. Open revolt in Ireland, court intrigue in Scotland, and a Jesuit mission in England, were to bring about the overthrow of the heretical queen, the establishment of Mary on the English throne, and the return of England and Scotland to the papal allegiance.

A papalist campaign.

The attack opened in Ireland in the summer of 1579 with the arrival of a small expedition on the west coast, accompanied by the Jesuit, Nicholas Sanders, and also by the determined rebel, Desmond's cousin Fitzmaurice. Munster was soon in a blaze, some of the English colonists were murdered, and Desmond joined the rebellion. The English president of Connaught, Malby, collected such troops as he had, marched south, killed Fitzmaurice, scattered the insurgents, and drove them back into Smerwick, which had been fortified, while Desmond himself retired to Ashketyn. But Malby could not conduct a prolonged campaign; he was obliged to withdraw to Connaught, and as soon as he was gone Desmond came out again and cut up the English colony at Youghal. It was not till March of the following year, 1580, that Elizabeth would sanction the provision of sufficient supplies to enable Ormond, and Pelham from the Pale, to take

1579. Ireland: the Desmond rebellion.

1580. March.

vigorous action against the rebels. They carried fire and sword into the heart of the Desmond country. Then the supplies were again stopped for a time. After an interval, during which the insurgents again made head, more supplies were allowed, and the loyalists again took the field with vigour.

It seemed that the insurrection was on the verge of collapsing when it broke out in a new quarter, within the Pale itself. The new deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, marched into Wicklow to crush the rebels, but his forces were drawn into an ambush and cut to pieces. And just at this time a company of adventurers, **Smerwick.** Spanish and Italian subjects of Philip, arrived at Smerwick to give fresh heart to the Munster insurgents. In the late autumn, however, a decisive campaign was opened. Lord Grey marched from Dublin to join the loyalists in the south, and turned upon Smerwick, held in force by the new arrivals. But when Grey was joined by a squadron of English ships under the command of Admiral Wynter, the fate of Smerwick was sealed. On 9th November the garrison surrendered at discretion, and six hundred of them were put to death on the spot, though most of the officers were held to ransom. The massacre achieved its object, the termination of any resistance which could be described as organised. The Irish were terrorised into submission, and the terror was maintained.

In Scotland the intention was to establish Catholic influence over the young king, who was virtually in the hands of the Regent Morton and the reforming nobles and preachers. To this end his cousin, Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigny, was sent over from France. He represented a junior branch of the house of Lennox. Darnley's father, Matthew of Lennox, had been killed in a fight in 1571; Darnley's brother died in 1576, leaving a daughter, Arabella Stuart, of whom more will be heard presently. The earldom of Lennox itself was now in abeyance. Esmé Stuart was a nephew of Matthew, and stood next to his infant cousin Arabella in the line of the Scottish succession, but outside the line of the English succession. A degree of success attended his mission. He managed to win the affections of the young James and to overthrow the powerful

1579-82. Scotland: Esmé Stuart.

but unpopular Morton, who was executed in 1581 on the charge of complicity in Darnley's murder. In other circumstances French assistance might have secured the continued ascendency of Esmé Stuart, on whom the title of duke of Lennox had been conferred; but Alençon was still hoping to secure the hand of the queen of England, and French help was not forthcoming. Moreover, the fall of Morton was only in a minor degree the work of the small papalist party; the regent was a political Protestant, but he was no friend of the preachers, and the rigour of his rule was by no means to the liking of the nobility. Within a year of Morton's death a party of the nobles, in what was called the raid of Ruthven, captured the person of James, and Lennox had to leave the country.

The third campaign was that of the Jesuits and Seminarists in England. At the head of it were two men of extremely different types, Robert Parsons or Persons, and Edmund Campian. Campian was moved by a pure religious fervour for the conversion of his countrymen; he had no ulterior political designs. But that fact in itself made him a tool all the more useful in the hands of his colleague, whose aim was to procure the overthrow of Elizabeth. Parsons was, in fact, the incarnation of everything that in Protestant eyes caused Romanism to be identified with treason against the nation and the Crown. He typified the militant Romanism born of the Council of Trent, the Romanism which was bent upon stamping out heresy as the one object to which all other considerations must give way. Campian awakened in other breasts his own fervent religious enthusiasm; Parsons turned it to account by instructing converts that it was their duty to destroy Elizabeth. They were taught that it was legitimate to plot treason and to profess loyalty, but an imperative duty to take part in treason; actively if possible, but at least to the extent of succouring and sheltering plotters. Parsons and Campian were not alone, but they were, so to speak, the headquarters of the Jesuit campaign.

England: Parsons and Campian.

The counter-campaign was conducted by the secretary, Francis Walsingham, the ablest of Burghley's colleagues. Walsingham was the organiser of what may be called the political detective

system which brought to ruin one after another the endless conspiracies of Elizabeth's reign. Himself a fervent Protestant, **Walsingham.** he was always the most advanced of Elizabeth's counsellors in urging her to declare herself once for all the determined champion of Protestantism, and there was no man who spoke his mind so fearlessly and freely to the queen, or so vigorously condemned her tortuous methods. The queen knew his infinite value; he was the only one of her ministers of whom she was actually afraid. But even Walsingham, as well as Cecil, protest as he might, could not guide the queen, but was obliged to obey her. In the matter of organisation, however, Walsingham had a free hand. Absolutely incorruptible himself, he had no hesitation in employing the most corrupt agents, and in allowing them to adopt methods as unscrupulous as those of the agents of Philip of Spain. He, perhaps more than any other man, must bear the responsibility for the use in England of torture as a means of extorting evidence, though for no other purpose.

Severities against the Romanists.

It was Walsingham's habit to bide his time; but before the end of 1580 several of the emissaries had been captured and put to the torture; vainly enough, for the most part, since nearly all were imbued with the constant spirit of the triumphant martyr. But when parliament met in January 1581 it manifested a fierce spirit of hostility to the Romanism which it could no longer distinguish from treason. To become a convert, or to convert others to the Church of Rome, was made treason: fines and imprisonment were imposed for celebrating Mass; exemption from attending the services of the Anglican Church involved the payment of £20 a month, a terrific imposition even for the very wealthy. Enthusiasts like Campian believed that their cause was daily gaining adherents in the country, and it is probable enough that many ardent and generous spirits were drawn over as a natural result of the severities to which captives were subjected. It was easy, too, to believe that for every open convert there were a score who dared not make overt profession. But if the temper of parliament was in any possible sense an indication of popular feeling, there can

be no doubt that the general sentiment was intensely hostile to the whole Jesuit propaganda. Even the capture and martyrdom of Campian himself, a man from whom only a purblind hostility could withhold respect and admiration, failed to turn the tide. It is quite possible that the larger half of England was quite as ready, so far as actual religious feeling was concerned, to attend the Mass as to attend the Anglican Communion Service; but the action of the Romanists resident abroad had convinced two-thirds of the people of England that no one could be a patriot who was not also a Protestant.

The relations with Spain had been very seriously strained in 1580 by the presence of the Spanish contingent in Ireland and by the spoil-laden return of Drake from his great voyage, to receive knighthood instead of condign punishment for piracy. About the same time Alençon was definitely offered the crown of the Netherlands, which, in despite of Elizabeth, he definitely accepted in January 1581. The queen's ingenuity was strained to the utmost to prevent the formal acceptance from becoming a reality in fact. The marriage project was pressed to the front, coupled with a proposal for an Anglo-French league. To Walsingham was entrusted the desperate task of endeavouring to procure the league without a final commitment to the marriage, for the French looked upon the marriage as providing the only security for Elizabeth's good faith. Walsingham himself told her plainly that she was on the brink of a precipice, that her conduct would drive the French into breaking off friendly relations altogether, and then she would have France, Scotland, and Spain all falling upon her together, for at the moment the star of the duke of Lennox was in the ascendent. Yet she persisted in taking her own course—and she won. She summoned Alençon over to her side, cajoled him completely, and then discovered new and impossible conditions, without which she could not hope to persuade her people to consent to the marriage. She would try, but while she was trying Alençon had better go away to the Netherlands. He went, in happy confidence that his mature mistress was quite devoted to him. There was no breach with

1580-1. Thin ice.

The queen's success.

France. There was no league with France. There was no effective intervention in the Netherlands by France. And Alençon was given to understand that Dutch allegiance was given to him not on his own merits but because he was looked upon as a guarantee of English assistance.

Alençon did not return to England. So far as he was concerned the farce got itself played out in the winter of 1583-4, not without an element of tragedy. The wretched prince was dismayed by the slow, resistless advance of Parma. No efficient aid seemed forthcoming for Orange either from France or from England. Alençon conceived the idea of playing the traitor, attaching himself to the winning cause, and handing over sundry of the towns to the Spaniards. His treachery was detected, his schemes were turned against himself, and the troops which were to have captured and delivered up Antwerp were themselves taken by surprise and cut up. Alençon vanished, and a few months later died.

1584. **The end of Alençon.**

At the end of 1582, when Alençon paid his last visit to England, affairs had already taken a satisfactory turn for Elizabeth. The raid of Ruthven and the capture of the young king of Scots by the Protestant lords had put an end to the threatening power of Lennox. Scotland at least would not join an anti-English combination. In France, King Henry and his mother were too much afraid of the Guise domination to be ready to break with England as long as there was a tolerable pretext for anticipating an English treaty. The duke of Guise and the whole Guise faction were as fanatical as Philip himself in their zeal against heretics, and especially against the queen of England, who stood between their cousin Mary and the throne. The Guise family also were not in the full sense French, since they had come out of Lorraine only two generations ago; therefore a purely French patriotism was in them comparatively lacking. This in some degree accounts for their readiness to enter into pacts with Spain, even at the expense of French interests. Similarly, Catholic zealots in England were ready to make common cause with Philip and the Guises against Elizabeth for the sake of religion at whatever cost to the power of

1582. **Scotland.**

The Guises.

England as a nation; but the majority of Catholics in England, as opposed to the Catholic exiles, were patriots first and zealots afterwards. On the other hand, among the Protestants the two forces of patriotism and zealotry were united. The contest between loyalists and Marians was not a straight fight between the two religions, but between zealots on one side and on the other the whole strength of Protestantism, reinforced, or at least not opposed, by the mass of patriotic Catholics. This was the fact which the zealots never grasped; consequently they persisted in the belief that half England was with them, and that with Spanish or French assistance they were certain of victory. The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, in England, and the Guises in France, were less confident, but were inclined on the whole to accept the view of the zealots.

Religion and loyalty.

In 1583 these ideas materialised in Throgmorton's Plot, which had been maturing during 1582. The assassination of the queen, a Catholic insurrection, and a Guise expedition were the essential elements of the plot; for Philip still wished to finish with the Netherlands before he turned upon England. Philip's ponderousness was fatal to any conspiracy which required swift and sudden execution. It was a matter of course that agents of Burghley and Walsingham were in the secret, and that Walsingham struck precisely at the right moment. Francis Throgmorton, one of the conspirators, was seized, along with a sufficient supply of incriminating documents. These were supplemented by Throgmorton's own confessions when he was racked for the second time. The main features of the plot were revealed; Mendoza, whose complicity was indubitable, was ordered to leave the country. Mary's partial knowledge at least was certain; two of the suspected Catholic lords—Northumberland and Arundel, who would have been duke of Norfolk but for his father's attainder—were imprisoned. Numbers of Catholics, as a matter of course, fell under suspicion, and Catholics everywhere were subjected to a stricter surveillance than ever.

1583. Throgmorton's Plot.

About midsummer of 1584 the cause of the Hollanders suffered what seemed at the moment an irreparable blow by the assas-

sination of William of Orange. Before long his son, Maurice of Nassau, was to prove himself a worthy successor; but his military genius was as yet unrevealed. The sheer dogged resolution of the Dutch people alone saved the situation, and enabled Elizabeth to postpone active intervention for yet another year. Alençon's death a month before was of importance primarily because it made the Protestant Henry of Navarre the legal heir to the French crown. France was thus more hampered than ever, because a war of succession was made inevitable; while for the reigning king it was almost equally impossible to side with the Guise faction, which he feared, or with the Huguenots, who regarded him as one of the persons mainly responsible for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. For the time he declared in favour of Navarre's succession; but there was no security for the future.

1584. Assassination of Orange.

France.

The Throgmorton Plot, followed by the assassination of William of Orange, roused to its highest point the English sense of the supreme danger to the State if any new plot should be successful. Hence at this time a voluntary association was formed for the defence of the queen. With practical unanimity the whole country hastened to sign a declaration, by which each individual signatory pledged himself to the destruction of any persons concerned in a plot against the queen, or any person on whose behalf such a plot should be devised. It was Elizabeth herself who, when parliament met in November, insisted on a modification, and refused to allow the assumption that Mary, against whom the declaration was obviously aimed, must necessarily be guilty of complicity in any plot which was meant to place her on the throne. In February 1585 an Act was passed disqualifying absolutely from the succession any one on whose behalf rebellion or assassination should be attempted, if such person should be proved to have been an accomplice. No provision was made nominating Elizabeth's successor, but a commission was appointed to give effect to the Act in case of the queen's death. But a crisis was now close at hand. The United Provinces, as the irreconcilable Dutch provinces had called themselves, since the formation of the union

The association.

1585.

of Utrecht in 1579, again offered the protectorate to the king of France. Henry dared not accept without assurance of Elizabeth's support, and he could not trust the queen of England. The Guises were strong enough to proclaim a Holy League, for the exclusion of the Huguenot king of Navarre from the succession. Henry III. had to make up his mind definitely between the Guises and the Huguenots. He chose the Guises, chiefly perhaps because Parma, who was besieging Antwerp, seemed to be on the verge of a success which would enable him to intervene decisively in France. Since the young king of Navarre was quite certain to fight for his rights with all the Huguenots behind him, it was also certain that France would not for some time to come be able to play an active part in European affairs outside her own borders.

The Holy League.

To Philip it seemed that Elizabeth, bereft of all chance of French help, could no longer dare to set him at defiance; that he could afford to make England feel his power, and by so doing to bring her to her knees. He seized all the English ships on the Spanish coast. He was arrogantly unconscious that for a long time past half England and all the English mariners had been more than ready to fight him, with or without allies, with a grim confidence of victory. The blow which was intended to force England to submission made it impossible for the queen any longer to hold her people in restraint. In August Elizabeth was openly in league with the revolted provinces, and there was no more pretence of peace between England and Spain.

Philip fires the mine.

II. The Crisis, 1585-1588

The great struggle with Spain marks the opening of a new era. Hitherto war had presented itself as the business of soldiers fighting on land—as military operations, to which naval operations were merely subsidiary. To England indeed, as an island power, a Channel fleet of some sort had commonly presented itself as a necessity in order to prevent the foreigner from landing armies on English soil and to facilitate the

The navies of the past.

dispatch of troops to France. Great soldiers like Edward III. and Henry V., and King John, who in actual military insight was inferior to none, had developed naval forces as an adjunct to the land forces. But to no one had the sea appeared as the great battlefield of dominion, with the exception of the Venetians, the reason being that the prizes of battle were territories on the Continent. Even in the eyes of Englishmen, Sluys did not appeal to the imagination nearly as strongly as Crecy or Agincourt. But a vast change had been wrought by the oceanic expansion of the sixteenth century; it was the English, the Mariners of England, who discovered the new meaning of sea-power; and it was the Mariners of England who discovered the principles of maritime warfare, which had been forgotten since the days when Rome made herself not the greatest but the only naval power in the Mediterranean.

Spain and sea-power.

It used to be the custom to speak as if there was a sort of miraculous element in the defeat of Spain, with all her vast resources, by a small island power. The victory was not nearly so miraculous as the resistance offered to the same mighty empire by the half-dozen little provinces which won a glorious independence as the Dutch republic. In fact the explanation is quite simple and natural: Spain did not grasp the meaning of sea-power. To crush the United Provinces she required fleets which could pass unchallenged from Cadiz to Gravelines, because that was the one route by which she could send men and money; fleets with which she could block the whole of the Dutch coast from Gravelines to Texel, and starve the commerce which provided the Hollanders with the sinews of war. While Spain's enemies were masters of the Channel the difficulties of crushing rebellion were multiplied tenfold. To prevent such a mastery it was necessary completely to overwhelm the English and Dutch shipping, and to do that it was necessary not only to have more ships and bigger ships, but to know how to handle them for fighting purposes. And these things were all the more necessary if she was to preserve a monopoly of the New World, the way to which lay across the ocean.

These were the facts grasped by English and Dutch mariners but not by Spain; and long before 1585 the seamen were perfectly confident that if only they were let loose upon Spain the clay feet of the idol would at once be revealed. The Englishman had learnt, and the Spaniard had not learnt, how to use his ship as itself an instrument of war, not merely as floating barracks. The military instinct which had taught English commanders in the field to paralyse and disintegrate huge masses of heavily armed troops by the employment of archery, taught English captains on the sea a corresponding employment of gunnery. And to this must be added that the Englishman had learnt to build and manœuvre his sailing-ships so that in anything more than the lightest of breezes it was infinitely more manageable than the oar-driven galley.

The English secret.

Now from time immemorial English seamanship had enabled English sailors habitually to fight with success against odds. All through the sixteenth century, and especially in the reign of Henry VIII., the State had endeavoured to foster English shipping, and Henry VIII. had created a quite considerable Royal Navy. It must always, however, be understood that the Royal Navy was never supposed to be the national fighting fleet, but only its backbone. The navy had been permitted to decay after Henry's death; under Elizabeth it was gradually restored again to a high state of efficiency. The number of ships in it at the time of the Armada was still less than that of Henry's fleet, but the average tonnage was approximately double. The perfecting of the fleet was entrusted to the consummate shipmaster and seaman, John Hawkins.

The Royal Navy.

But English seamanship had developed, quite apart from the Royal Navy, not only in the home fisheries and on the Newfoundland codbanks, but in sundry voyages of Arctic exploration and in visits to the Spanish Main. For five-and-twenty years past English sailors had openly ignored the Spanish king's commercial regulations for his American dominion. They had traded in defiance of the law, and compelled the Spaniards to trade with them at the sword's point. In effect, while the Spanish and English governments at home were professedly at peace,

Seamanship.

Spanish and English in the American waters and on the American continent treated each other very much as if the countries had been at open war; Burghley was the only Englishman who conscientiously declined to offer any encouragement to, or take any part in, the lawless proceedings, which would have been piratical if the Spaniards themselves had not shown an equal disregard of law. It was on these expeditions that Hawkins and Drake learnt the incomparable superiority of their own seamanship to that of the Spaniards, and the methods which, for fighting purposes, made an English ship worth three Spaniards of double the tonnage.

We turn again to the story. With Philip's seizure of the English ships in the summer of 1585 came the moment for letting slip the English sea-dogs. Letters of reprisal were issued, and the great captain, Francis Drake, whose wonderful voyage round the world had made him the darling of English and the terror of Spanish sailors, collected a fleet of privateers, which struck the first blow in the naval war. He sailed into the harbour of Vigo, seized some prizes, and made for the West Indies, where he attacked first San Domingo and then Cartagena, both of which were compelled to pay an enormous ransom, and came home again in 1586, having effectively demonstrated his complete contempt for the Spaniard and his ability to go where he liked.

1585. Drake's Cartagena expedition.

Meanwhile Elizabeth had openly espoused the cause of the United Provinces, which placed sundry towns in her hands; and an English force was dispatched to their aid under the command of Leicester. Still, however, the queen had no intention of giving any more assistance than she could possibly help. Her instructions to Leicester kept him inactive, while she herself, after her unique fashion, intrigued with Parma. On the whole we must suppose that her duplicity was only intended to gain time, and that she never intended Parma to accept her tentative terms; for whenever it seemed possible that some agreement might be arrived at she invented some variation or some unexpected interpretation, over which the negotiation was bound to break down. Her

1586. Leicester in the Low Countries.

double-dealing so disgusted her ministers that even Burghley threatened to resign, the Englishmen in the Netherlands were sickened, and the Hollanders were bitterly distrustful. To mollify them, or in the hope of forcing the queen's hand, Leicester, in defiance of orders, accepted for himself on her behalf the governorship of the Netherlands; she flew into a royal rage, and very nearly recalled him. The money to pay the troops was not sent. The only results of the campaign, so far as England was concerned, were some striking displays of personal valour and a hot skirmish at Zutphen, as useless and meaningless from a military point of view as the charge at Balaclava, but distinguished by a like wonderful display of reckless valour. The fight is above all memorable for the fall of Philip Sidney, who lives for ever as the idealised type of Elizabethan knighthood.

Meanwhile the curtain was rising upon the last act in the tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots. Hitherto she had owed her life to the policy and to the monarchical sentiment of Elizabeth; by this time probably four-fifths of the people of England were convinced not only that her death would be an extremely desirable event, but that her sins and her treasons were more than sufficient warrant for her execution. But Elizabeth had taken very good care that she should be brought to trial neither for sins nor treasons. The plain truth is that conspirators never had any adequate reason for taking Mary into their full counsels. There was nothing to be gained and everything to lose by attempting to let her know the details of plots, and a prisoner under strict supervision could not take an active part in their organisation. When Mary Tudor was on the throne of England, Elizabeth herself had been in a position by no means dissimilar to that of Mary Stuart now; it is probable that as in her case so now, in the whole series of plots, nothing more could ever have been actually proved concerning Mary than that she knew of some attempt which was to be made to set her at liberty. **Queen Mary.**

But the events of 1585 had made an important change in the situation. Elizabeth herself knew that she could no longer coerce the Scots by threatening Mary's release; it was too palpable that she could not afford to release her. But now that England was

at open war with Spain the Scots queen was more dangerous than ever as a figurehead for plots. Her removal had long been one of Walsingham's most fervent desires, and he now got his way with the queen in an important particular. The thing he wanted was to procure damning evidence of her complicity in an assassination plot. That she would encourage such a plot if she had the chance he had not the smallest doubt; but hitherto the strictness of her gaolers had practically given her no chance. Now she was removed from Tutbury to Chartley Manor, and the strictness of the supervision was relaxed—in appearance.

1586. Chartley Manor.

Immediately a new conspiracy was afoot, known as Babington's Plot. The conspirators found useful accomplices, who enabled them to correspond freely with the prisoner. Neither they nor she were aware that every letter which passed in or out was opened and copied before it was allowed to pass on to its destination; and the copies were in the hands of Secretary Walsingham. The 'useful accomplices' were his agents. It was the old story of a foreign invasion, a Catholic rising, and the assassination of Elizabeth, which was to be effected by Anthony Babington and some other hot-headed enthusiastic boys. The correspondents were decently cautious, and for a long time no mention was made of assassination; but at last there fell into Walsingham's hands the one thoroughly incriminating letter which he wanted. As to the details of the plot itself Walsingham had other information, but it was for this that he had waited. The conspirators were seized, with their papers and Mary's own; under torture full confessions were made, and they were duly executed.

Babington's Plot.

It was no longer possible to resist the public demand for a commission to try Queen Mary. It was in vain that she denied the jurisdiction. The court was appointed, found her guilty, and referred her sentence to parliament and Queen Elizabeth. Parliament was summoned in November and demanded Mary's death.

Elizabeth had reached the stage of being willing that Mary should die. Until comparatively recently it had been possible that

her death would merely transfer her own claims and the allegiance of the Catholics to James, who might consider it worth his while to declare himself a Romanist. But now it was obviously to him much better worth his while to bide his time and succeed to the English throne as a Protestant. If Mary were removed there was no one in whose favour the Catholic irreconcilables could unite except Philip of Spain, who through his mother traced his descent from John of Gaunt and Edward III. Also Mary, angered by her son's disregard for herself—which he might have excused on the ground that he was Darnley's son as well as hers—had formally disinherited James and declared Philip her heir. But it was so impossible for any but the most extravagant zealots to support the claims of Philip of Spain, that Mary's death could hardly fail to bring into line with the rest of the country the bulk of those who maintained her claim while she was alive, since few could doubt that her death was warranted by the evidence.

Mary and Philip.

Yet Elizabeth still hankered to escape the responsibility for putting her cousin to death. She even went so far as to suggest to Mary's gaoler, Sir Amyas Paulet, that he might make away with her without waiting for the formal death warrant. Paulet naturally refused with indignation. At last the queen yielded to the pressure of the council and the persuasions of Secretary Davison, and signed the warrant. Davison carried it to Burghley, Burghley summoned all the available members of the council, and on their joint responsibility they dispatched it to the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, who were charged with its execution. On 7th February 1587 they presented themselves at Fotheringay, whither the captive queen had been removed, and there on the following day she was beheaded.

1587. Mary beheaded, February.

The irrevocable step had been taken at last. Elizabeth protested, with much display of unconvincing indignation, that the thing had been done against her will, and made the unlucky Davison her scapegoat, since it was impossible to fix the actual responsibility upon any individual member of the council. King James in Scotland, whose sense of

Elizabeth's attitude.

humour was not affected by the tragedy, expressed his readiness to acknowledge her innocence if she would publicly disprove her complicity in the deed; but he was satisfied with his gibe. The Guises might be angry, but they could do nothing. Elizabeth's position was undignified, even contemptible; but she had played a winning card, though she had disliked doing it, and chose to console herself with the pretence that it was not she who had played it.

Philip prepares an armada.

By playing it, however, she brought the slow-moving mind of Philip up to the point of determining that he would not wait till he had annihilated the Netherlanders before he crushed the queen of England. He would claim the throne for himself or his daughter Isabella, as all other candidates for the succession were heretics; there was no longer the drawback to intervention that, if he set Mary Stuart on the English throne, she might after all desert him for a French alliance. The ports of Spain were soon busy with preparations for a mighty armada. Philip was never in a hurry; now, as always, he prepared imperturbably to deliver a quite overwhelming blow. The weak point of his policy was that his enemy generally succeeded in spoiling the effect by striking before the blow was ready.

Drake strikes, April.

So it was now. Drake was ordered to repeat the scheme of eighteen months before. He was careful to get his squadron out of port before the appointed time, so that the inevitable counter-orders did not reach him. Still, Elizabeth could profess that the counter-orders had been sent. He sailed into Cadiz, seized all the stores he could carry off, burnt most of the shipping, cleared out again, continued his cruise long enough to paralyse all the concerted arrangements, and then sailed for the Azores in search of spoils, which he got by capturing a great treasure-laden ship from the East, the *San Philip*. The coming of the Armada was postponed for a year, and Drake could cheerfully boast how he had 'singed the king of Spain's beard.'

Elizabeth went on negotiating with Parma so persistently that even her own ministers believed she intended the treachery

which she professed. Still, she kept in reserve the inevitable impossible condition, to be produced only when negotiations, protracted to the uttermost, seemed to leave no loophole of escape from an agreement. At the last moment she explained that her promised surrender to Parma of the cautionary towns which she held was to be not the first but the last step in carrying out the compact. Then, and not till then, it became quite certain that there was not going to be any compact at all.

Elizabeth and Parma.

Philip did not allow the negotiations to interfere with the process of armament, in spite of Drake's interruption. But his ships were not ready to sail till the late autumn, when his great admiral, Santa Cruz, reputed the ablest naval commander afloat, pronounced that it was impossible to risk facing the winter storms of the Channel. The Armada would have sailed in January but that Santa Cruz himself died, and in February the naval authorities in England had completed their preparations. Philip was moved by some superstitious reason to insist on giving the command of his Armada to a perfectly incompetent landsman, the duke of Medina Sidonia. As a natural consequence the armada was not ready to sail till the end of May; when it did sail it was driven back by storms to Corunna, and it was not till 12th July that it made its actual start.

The Armada delayed.

In this long interval the English, if the seamen had had their way, would have repeated on a very much larger scale Drake's performance of 1587; and in all probability the Armada would have been completely annihilated in its own ports. But the landsmen clung to the conviction that the Channel was the proper place for the English fleet. Lord Howard of Effingham was in supreme command, but the real director of it was Francis Drake, the vice-admiral, and John Hawkins, who was what we may call head of the Admiralty. A popular error has discovered in the appointment of Howard a proof of Catholic loyalty and of the queen's trust therein; but, as a matter of fact, it is quite certain that Howard was an Anglican of the normal type; no Catholics, in the popular

1588. The English preparations.

sense of the term, were put in positions of trust. Through the long months Howard and others made many bitter complaints of the shortness of supplies; but while it is true that it was always difficult to extract money from Elizabeth, there was no precedent for maintaining so large a fleet for so long a time in immediate readiness. If the authorities made inadequate provision, they are not altogether to be blamed; and the same remark applies to the shortage of ammunition which, when the fight came, made itself felt, and prevented a prolonged pursuit. No one had calculated upon the enormous expenditure of ammunition, because all naval fighting heretofore had been in the main an affair of locking ships together and letting the soldiers fight it out; whereas in the struggle with the Armada the English scarcely ever grappled as long as they could keep their artillery in play.

Objectives of the fleets.

The plan of the Spaniards was to sail up Channel, join hands with Parma, take on board his army of veteran troops, and convoy them to the shores of England. The plan of the English sailors was to engage the Spanish fleet and break it up before it got to Flushing. The Spaniards intended to preserve a strict defensive, the English meant to take the offensive. For the Spaniards their fleet was a means of conveying an army; for the English their fleet was an instrument of conquest. The Spanish ships carried a few sailors, a great many galley slaves, and masses of soldiers to do the fighting; the English ships were manned almost entirely by mariners, who worked their ships as fighting machines and never intended to come to hand strokes until the enemy was crippled. The object of the Spaniards was not to crush the English fleet but to preserve their own solid formation, and force their way first to the Netherlands and then to the shores of England; the object of the English was to shatter the Spanish fleet itself.

The dispositions.

The main English fleet was collected at the west of the Channel, while a squadron under Wynter was left at the east end to prevent any attempt on Parma's part to put to sea from the Flemish ports. Ashore, in case the Spaniards should manage to land, the raw English levies were

mustered at Tilbury, though how they might have fared in an encounter with Parma's veterans may be matter of doubt. Happily, they were not put to the test; the fleet did all that was required of it.

The whole Spanish force numbered a hundred and thirty sail; nearly two hundred English vessels took part in the engagement, thirty-four belonging to the Royal Navy. But about half the Spaniards were over three hundred tons burden, while not more than a fourth of the English were over two hundred tons, and the tonnage of the whole Spanish fleet nearly doubled the English total. The enormous superiority of the English lay in seamanship and gunnery, as well as in the structure of the ships, which were built to pour in broadsides, whereas the Spaniards were not. The practical result was that the English ships could sail round the Spanish ships, many more guns could be fired simultaneously, every gun discharged three shots to one of the Spaniard's, every English shot and scarcely any Spanish shot told, and the result was an overwhelming victory.

The odds.

On 19th July the Spaniards were sighted off the Scillies. That night the English worked out of Plymouth Sound and got to windward of the Spanish advance. Next day they contented themselves with pounding the rear ships of the Spaniards (who were massed like a half-moon), ship following ship, and each ship pouring in broadsides as it passed; but the Spaniards held together. Only one ship was actually captured and another blown almost to pieces. Breezes dropped, and it was not till the 23rd that the English were able to force an engagement off Portland. Again the English failed to break up the Spanish formation, though much damage was inflicted. On the 25th there was another engagement, when it seemed that the Spaniards had intended to make their way into Portsmouth, but were foiled in the attempt, and continued their voyage up Channel, till they anchored in Calais Roads on the night of the 27th.

19th-27th July. The Armada in the Channel.

So far the English had lost no ships and less than a hundred men all told. The Spaniards had lost three ships, many more

were almost crippled, and they had lost many men; yet the English had not accomplished the object of breaking them up.

Calais Roads and Gravelines, 29th.

But Drake and Howard were now in touch with Wynter; it was necessary to force a decisive engagement. On the night of the 28th fireships were sent down wind onto the Spanish fleet. There was a panic; the Spaniards cut their cables and made for the open sea helter-skelter; in the morning they were scattered far and wide, struggling to recover some sort of formation. Off Gravelines the English fell upon their rear, sailed round them, and pounded them to pieces, while half the Spaniards were never able to come into action. The Armada was hopelessly shattered, and the surviving ships had no hope either of making the Flemish ports or of collecting together. When the victory was won a gale rose, before which the Spaniards ran for the north, with the English in pursuit. The chase was given over on 2nd August, and the Spaniards straggled away round the north of Scotland, to make their way home as best they could. Many more of their ships were wrecked on the Scottish or Irish coast, and only a hopelessly crippled remnant of the mighty fleet at last struggled back to Spain. 'The Lord blew and they were scattered.' But English seamanship and English gunnery had utterly destroyed the Great Armada before the winds and waves intervened to complete the work.

The end of the Armada.

III. After the Armada, 1589-1603

The defeat of the Armada was a revelation to every one except the sailors of England. They had been perfectly confident of the result, and were, in fact, somewhat disappointed at the strength of the resistance which the Spaniards had offered. But they proved to the world once for all that they, not the Spaniards, were lords of the ocean, that England had nothing to fear from Spain, that Spain had everything to fear from England. For nearly thirty years of her reign Elizabeth had successfully staved off war; but now nobody thought of making peace.

No peace.

The only division of opinion was with regard to the objects and the methods with which the contest was to be continued. One school, that of Walsingham among statesmen and of Drake among the seamen, would be content with nothing less than the total destruction of the Spanish power. Her fleets were to be wiped off the seas, her colonies appropriated; she was to be driven out of the Netherlands, while England stood forth as the champion of the reformed religion, the mainstay of its adherents in whatever country. On the other side, Elizabeth and Burghley did not want Spain to be wiped out; they wanted her preserved as a counterpoise to France, weakened and humiliated but not destroyed. The great mass of the people took short views, but they saw that Spanish commerce lay a prey to the English, offering a short cut to wealth for the enterprising; the continuation of the war was to provide a rich harvest for the adventurers. By encouraging this popular view and discrediting Drake and his school, Elizabeth and Burghley saw that the total destruction of Spain would be averted, and dreamed that she might be taught the wisdom of seeking English friendship on England's own terms. Philip, the most obstinate and self-confident of men, declined to believe himself beaten, continued to believe that a new armada would crush England, that Parma would crush the Hollanders, that the Guises would triumph in France by Spanish assistance and turn that country into a province of Spain. In those views he was presently fortified when in 1588, just before Christmas, the duke of Guise was assassinated by Henry III.'s contrivance; and then, twelve months after the Armada, Henry was assassinated by the Guises. Henry of Navarre claimed to be king of France, and the Guise brothers were ready, in spite of the 'Salic law,' to support the claim of the Infanta Isabella, the daughter of Philip and of Isabella, sister of the three last kings of France.

Rival policies.

Philip.

For ten years, then, Elizabeth's foreign policy consisted in encouraging a maritime war upon Spanish commerce, since in this direction it would have been dangerous to her to attempt to curb the energies of her people. The Netherlanders and the Huguenots in France were to have enough help doled

Elizabeth.

out to them to keep them from being crushed, but not enough to give them the victory. Twice, however, her hand was forced, and she was obliged to sanction expeditions which were intended to deal deadlier blows at Spain; the first because she could not afford to run counter to Drake in the height of his popularity, the second because Spain was showing a dangerous power of recuperation.

Portugal and Don Antonio.

In 1580 Philip had grasped the crown of Portugal, claiming it through his mother, the sister of the last king of the old house. The stronger title of his own cousins of the house of Braganza was ignored, though it was to be successfully revived some sixty years later. But there was another pretender, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a bastard son of one of Philip's Portuguese uncles, a person who could only be utilised against Philip in the same sort of way that Perkin Warbeck had been utilised against Henry VII. The Portuguese did not like the Spanish dominion, and there was some sort of chance for any pretender to gain popular support. Hence it was now proposed that England should espouse the cause of Don Antonio, set him on the throne of Portugal, and sever that country, with its possessions in the eastern seas, from the Spanish Empire. To this end Drake was to head an expedition which was to expel the Spaniards from Lisbon.

1589. The Lisbon expedition.

The plan was Drake's, and therefore it was adopted. The expedition sailed in April 1589, and its failure discredited the great admiral in the eyes of his countrymen. Other great captains, Hawkins and Frobisher, were jealous of him, and stood second only to him in the popular admiration; after the failure of the Lisbon expedition it was not difficult to set aside the maritime policy of Drake in favour of the maritime policy of Hawkins, the policy of commerce-raiding. It is difficult to escape the belief that it was Elizabeth's deliberate intention to discredit Drake and prevent the expedition from being a success; for the conditions under which he sailed prevented him from carrying out his own plan of campaign, and tied him to co-operation with a land force, which was indeed commanded by the ablest and most experienced

English soldier of the day, Sir John Norris, but was not provided with the siege train necessary to the carrying out of the plan. Drake and Norris failed to capture Lisbon. Viewed merely as a raid, their operations were not wholly unsuccessful; but a successful raid was something very much short of what was expected, and Drake's prestige was at least sufficiently diminished for Elizabeth's purposes.

Leicester, the queen's principal favourite for thirty years, though never her guide, died just after the Armada. Ultimately he had identified himself with the more aggressively Protestant of Elizabeth's counsellors, of whom the greatest was Walsingham. That statesman was now practically in retirement, and died a poor man in the spring of 1590. Of all the men who had been the pillars of Elizabeth's throne during the first five-and-twenty years of her reign, Burghley alone was left, and he was now seventy. In the great queen's last years the prominent men were all of a younger generation: Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley's second son, a consummate politician, though hardly a great statesman; Walter Raleigh, brilliant, arrogant, a dreamer of dreams, orator, poet, pamphleteer, courtier, soldier, sailor, the supreme embodiment of Elizabethan versatility, idealism, and recklessness; Essex, the young aristocrat, on whom Elizabeth lavished the fondness of her old age. In the rivalries of these lies the principal personal interest of these latter years, or in the individual deeds of daring of sailors, also for the most part of the younger generation. But the greatest glory of these times lies in another field, aside from war and politics, the field of literature, in which England won a supremacy which matched her triumph on the seas.

The new men.

Robert Cecil, the active agent of that policy which he inherited from his father, was by far the most dexterous manipulator of the political machine. After the failure of the Lisbon expedition the attacks on Spain year by year took the same form of expeditions, successful or not, for the interception of Spanish treasure ships. The Spaniards had learnt something, and were steadily reorganising the navy, though they had not learnt enough to be able to make

1589-95. The maritime war.

the best use of it. Of these expeditions the most famous is that in 1591, when Richard Grenville in the *Revenge*, Drake's flagship at the time of the Armada, fought for fifteen hours through a summer evening and night against three-and-fifty Spanish ships of war; whereof Raleigh told the splendid story, which Tennyson has rendered again in his great ballad. This method of warfare did much to cripple Philip's resources. Parma's death in 1592 deprived him of the aid of the greatest soldier of the day; and next year Henry IV. practically assured his own ultimate victory by announcing his conversion to the Roman faith. The concoction and detection of plots against Elizabeth went on, and every plot was used by Essex and the war party to inflame popular sentiment against Spain.

By 1595 the insufficiency of the method adopted against Spain was becoming apparent, and Hawkins and Drake were allowed to make a direct attack upon the Spanish Main. But the Spaniards were on guard now, the prey captured was small, and both the great seamen died in the course of the expedition. The practical failure led to the striking of one more vigorous blow in 1598, when Howard of Effingham, with Raleigh and Essex, descended upon Cadiz, sunk or burnt a vast quantity of shipping, stormed the town, and put it to ransom. But this was all. Later in the same year Philip conceived that he had constructed once more an armada fit to send against England. It sailed, but it was shattered at sea without coming in striking distance of the English. An expedition to the Azores in the following year under the command of Raleigh and Essex, known as the Island Voyage, served chiefly to illustrate the irreconcilable hostility of its two commanders.

1595. Drake's last voyage.

1596. Cadiz.

In the next year, 1598, France was pacified by the Peace of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry guaranteed toleration to the Huguenots; and before the end of the year both Philip of Spain and his tenacious adversary, Lord Burghley, were dead. Spanish hopes of reconquering the Netherlands had been receding further and further ever since the death of Parma. Peace was not formally con-

1598. Philip's death.

cluded, but thenceforth the war was reduced to private raiding by adventurers.

The Armada came and went without any sign of disturbance in Ireland, where the repressive system established after Desmond's rebellion kept the south in a state of subjection. In the north Tyrconnel was loyal to the English government, seeing therein his best security against depression by the O'Neills; and Tirlough O'Neill, for some time recognised as the chief of the O'Neills, had learnt discretion. And Tirlough's ascendency was giving place to that of one of the few Irish leaders who have known how to watch and wait, never carried away by a hasty impulse. Hugh O'Neill, nephew of Shan and grandson of Con, was brought up in England, and was admitted to his grandfather's earldom of Tyrone in 1585. Whatever plans for the future he may have been contemplating from the first, he made it his policy to adopt a loyalist pose, to mediate between the government and the discontented chiefs, and to acquire the confidence of both. But Elizabeth had not set up in Ireland a strong government which enforced justice with a firm hand, but only an English ascendency, which maintained itself by the fear which it inspired, unsupported by such a military force as would be able to cope with an efficiently concerted insurrection. The Irish, people and chiefs, detested the English dominion; it was preserved only because to some of the Irish it seemed the lesser of two evils, preferable to internecine strife among the septs, and because the rest were unable to act in unison.

1580-92. Ireland.

Hugh O'Neill.

But by 1592 sundry chiefs in the remoter parts of the country were again openly setting the English government at naught. Tyrone was overtly exerting his influence to persuade them to a better frame of mind and offering his own help to the government; but the English officials, the deputy Fitzwilliam, and others, were convinced that he was secretly encouraging treason, though they could bring forward no proofs that their suspicions were well founded. They would not trust him nor employ him; but they could find no occasion against him. They contented themselves with the punitory expeditions to

1592-5. Tyrone.

the disturbed districts which only intensified the popular hate. Their suspicions, in fact, were entirely warranted, for Tyrone was in secret communication with Spain, which at the end of 1593 was showing ominous signs of recuperation. Possibly Tyrone only intended to have two strings to his bow; possibly what he really wanted was a supremacy like that of the old earl of Kildare; possibly if the English government had trusted him, and made him supreme as a servant of the Crown, he would have broken off relations with Elizabeth's enemies.

This was the belief of the gallant soldier, Sir John Norris, who in 1595 was in command of the queen's forces in Ireland; it was not the belief of the successive deputies, Fitzwilliam and Russell, who were convinced that Tyrone was a traitor. But the earl at any rate did not mean to head a rebellion without material aid from Spain; and material aid could not be looked for when Drake and Hawkins started on their last voyage for the Spanish Main in 1595, or after the blow at Cadiz in 1596. The last hope vanished when late in that year Philip's second armada set sail, presumably for Ireland, and went to pieces under stress of weather. Tyrone, against whom no conclusive evidence had ever been forthcoming, made renewed efforts for a reconciliation with the government, and was at last successful, so far as outward appearances went.

1596. Spain a broken reed.

And yet it became more and more apparent that his own supremacy in the north, not that of the official government, was the end for which he was working, and which he was only too likely to achieve. In 1598 his independent proceedings led to the dispatch of an inadequate force to bring him to book. The total rout of that force on the Blackwater, in the neighbourhood of Armagh, paralysed the council in Dublin, which would probably have surrendered ignominiously to Tyrone if he had marched upon it. There was now hardly a pretence that the government could enforce the law even within the Pale. This situation in Ireland was the prelude to the tragedy of the earl of Essex.

1598. Tyrone's ascendency.

In the summer of 1598 Lord Burghley died. The queen was almost sixty-five, and still no one knew for certain who was to

succeed her on the throne. The three nearest heirs, legitimate descendants of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, were all Protestants; but the Catholics were not without hope that any one of them might be persuaded that Catholic support would turn the scale in his or her favour, and that the crown of England was, in the phrase of Henry of France, 'worth a Mass.' For Protestants as such there was no particular ground for preferring one of the candidates to another. Legitimism gave the preference to the king of Scots. Legitimism, tempered by nationalism, would favour his cousin, Arabella Stuart, Darnley's niece. The will of Henry VIII. gave the preference to Lord Beauchamp, the son of Katharine Grey and Lord Hertford. There were other conceivable candidates among the English nobility who might have been put forward by the Catholics on various pretexts—the earls of Derby, Huntingdon, Devonshire—but none of them had any inclination for the rôle of pretender.

1598. The state of the succession.

There remained, then, one other candidate, Isabella, the sister of the new king, Philip III. of Spain. She was not impossible, because Philip II. had arranged before his death that she was to marry the Austrian archduke, Albert, and under her the Burgundian inheritance was to form a sovereignty separate from that of Spain. Thus there was a certain plausibility in the theory that her accession in England would mean, not the subjection of England to Spain, but the establishment of a third Hapsburg dynasty beside those of Austria and Spain, ruling over England and the Netherlands; the old Burgundian alliance would in this way be converted into an actual union. Isabella was not without a title, as descending from John[1] of Gaunt's second daughter. Her accession to the throne of England could only be conditional upon a religious compromise applying both to England and the Netherlands, corresponding to the compromise just effected in France. A large proportion of Anglicans in England might have been satisfied with such an arrangement, just as the majority of Catholics would have been satisfied with a Protestant monarchy which conceded full toleration to their religion.

The Infanta.

[1] See Genealogies, VI.

Thus when we sum up we find four possible candidates, none of them with an unexceptionable title, all with a title which had some degree of plausibility, none capable of exciting the enthusiasm of any group, but each possible of acceptance both by Romanists and by the majority of Anglicans, so that the possibilities of intrigue were almost unlimited. As a matter of fact, the two leading political rivals, Cecil and Essex, probably both intended that James should become king of England, but each intended that he and not the other or Raleigh should claim to be the man to whom James owed his throne.

Summary.

Now in the autumn of 1598 Cecil and Raleigh were leagued together; but Essex was the queen's personal favourite, and Essex posed as the champion of Protestantism and the deadly enemy of Spain. Unfortunately for himself, Essex elected to denounce the incapacity of the ministers who were responsible for Ireland; his rivals seized their opportunity and proposed that he should go there himself. Essex professed his readiness on conditions which would give him unprecedented powers and unprecedented forces. His conditions were accepted, and in 1599 he went to Ireland to suppress Tyrone. He did not suppress Tyrone; he ignored the instructions which he received from the council and the queen, and when he did march against the earl he arranged terms with him instead of crushing him. His absence had the effect on Elizabeth which Cecil and Raleigh had desired; his personal presence was necessary to his domination of her affections. She wrote him angry letters; he was convinced that Cecil and Raleigh were working against him behind his back. It was quite superfluous for them to do anything of the sort; they could safely leave him to work his own ruin. In a wild impulse of resentment, he suddenly threw up his office, hurried to England, rode post-haste to Greenwich, and startled the queen by bursting into her chamber all travel-stained and mud-bespattered. The offence was unpardonable. That evening he was arrested, and for the next ten months, till August 1600, he was kept in custody.

1599. Essex in Ireland.

Within our very limited space it is impossible to unravel the intrigues by which Cecil was cajoling even the ultra-Catholics,

and at the same time establishing himself in the confidence of the king of Scots, who was playing a similar game after his own fashion. When Essex was released he found the impression prevalent that the government was coming to terms with Isabella. He clamoured against the traitors who were selling the country. Cecil let him clamour, then suddenly in February struck. Essex was summoned before the council. Instead of answering the summons he tried to raise the city of London. Cecil's craft had succeeded beyond his hopes; the attempt failed ignominiously. The earl was captured, tried for treason, condemned, and executed, the queen assenting, though with bitter anguish.

1601. The ruin of Essex.

Meanwhile the place of Essex in Ireland had been taken by a capable soldier, Montjoy. Having an adequate force at his disposal, he was able during 1600 to throw into Derry a garrison sufficient to paralyse any aggressive movement on the part of Tyrone in the north; in the autumn of 1601 a Spanish fleet succeeded in reaching Kinsale. But Montjoy established a blockade. The pressure in the south enabled Tyrone to move, and he came down to attempt a relief; but his forces were routed, and Kinsale with the Spaniards in it was obliged to surrender at the beginning of 1602. After that resistance was hopeless; though some of the chiefs continued the desperate struggle for a short time, they very soon found that they had to choose between making their escape to Spain and suing for terms. Tyrone's singular abilities are remarkably exemplified by his success in procuring not only pardon but ostensible restoration to the confidence of the government.

1600-2. Montjoy in Ireland.

Since describing the Elizabethan settlement of the ecclesiastical question in the early years of the reign, we have referred to the subject of religion in England only so far as it was a factor in the various designs for the dethronement of Elizabeth or in the hostility to the succession of Mary Queen of Scots. We have seen how the papal bull of 1570 and the Jesuit mission of 1580 exposed all adherents of the old religion, however loyal, to suspicion of treason, and how in consequence they were subjected to a much severer supervision and a more rigid exaction

The question of religion.

of sterner penalties for what was known as recusancy from 1570 onwards. But before we part with Queen Elizabeth we have also to describe the development of Nonconformity—the antagonism within the pale of the Church to everything which the extreme reformers regarded as savouring of Roman superstition—and also the corresponding development of an attitude of repression towards Nonconformity on the part of the episcopate and of the government.

1570-83. Nonconformity.

The Nonconformist movement had two aspects: in the one it was concerned mainly with matters of ceremonial observance —with what is called the Vestiarian Controversy; in the other it is concerned with the methods of church government. As regards the first, the Act of Uniformity retained and enjoined the use of sundry symbols—vestments, the ring in the marriage service, the sign of the Cross in baptism, established by the usage of many centuries but having no direct Scriptural authority. To such observances the Nonconformists objected, and they were apt to be evaded where the authorities chose not to be vigilant. The queen's ministers, at least after Cecil's final triumph in 1569, were not at all disposed to a rigorous enforcement of the law against their 'brethren in Christ,' and this was also the attitude of Grindal, Parker's successor at Canterbury. The Nonconformists increased and multiplied, and to their ceremonial nonconformity they added a growing tendency to advocate the introduction of the Presbyterian system of church government, which had its origin in Geneva—a democratic system which will be described in the next section in connection with its development in Scotland, where it ultimately displaced episcopacy. A Presbyterian organisation was at this time even established within the organisation of the Church. But there was a section of the advanced Protestants who went still further in their theory of democratic individualism. In their view each separate congregation ought to be left free to follow its own line. This group, known at first as Brownists, took at a later stage the title of Independents, and ultimately that of Congregationalists. Neither Presbyterianism nor Independency was compatible with

Presbyterians.

Brownists.

the system of church government in which the highest authority lay with the bishops and the bishops were dependent on the Crown.

In 1583 Archbishop Whitgift succeeded Archbishop Grindal, and Whitgift, with Elizabeth's concurrence, resolved to restore the uniformity which Grindal had been at no pains to enforce. Under his auspices the Court of High Commission was established, in accordance with the authority given by the Act of Uniformity; a court for dealing with ecclesiastical questions, and having an analogy to that of the Star Chamber, inasmuch as its methods were arbitrary and independent of the common law. English Protestantism, as represented in the House of Commons, grew continually fiercer, more passionately anti-Romanist, from the time of the Jesuit mission; and the hatred of Spain generated Puritanism. Whitgift's inquisitorial activities intensified controversial bitterness, and in 1588 appeared the first of the Martin Marprelate pamphlets, scurrilous attacks upon ecclesiastical dignitaries, which were met by hardly less scurrilous replies; in spite of an ordinance of 1586, which penalised the printing of any matter which had not received the *imprimatur* of the archbishop or of the bishop of London. The violence of these attacks created some reaction, but the sympathies of the Cecils and of not a few other leading men were not on the side of Whitgift.

1583. Archbishop Whitgift.

1588. Martin Marprelate.

Nevertheless, while the controversy raged severe measures were taken against Nonconformists, and Elizabeth even ventured to repress liberty of speech in the House of Commons in 1593. An Act was practically forced through by the Crown which penalised nonattendance at the services of the Church of England and attendance at unlawful conventicles, and expelled persistent recalcitrants from the country. Whitgift had attained his object of reducing moderate Puritans to outward conformity and driving irreconcilables away from the country to find an asylum generally in Holland. But the attack upon Puritan nonconformity did not imply any relaxation in the hostile attitude of the government and the Church to Romanists. The Act was supplemented by

1593. Repressive legislation.

severe restrictions on those who were able to purchase a degree of immunity by the payment of heavy fines, while those who were not able to pay were expelled like the Puritans. The excuse was found for maintaining these rigorous laws in the persistent activity of the Jesuit, Parsons, who was domiciled in Spain, and in the various futile plots which were brought to light from time to time. It is to be noted, however, that the majority of the Catholics in England, including the priests, were angrily opposed to the whole policy of Parsons and to direction by the Jesuits; which accounts for their failure to combine on the selection of one generally accepted candidate for the succession to the crown of England.

Through 1602 Cecil and James, who understood each other, were waiting for the death of the old queen. Cecil had succeeded in keeping the Catholics undecided in the choice of a candidate upon whom to concentrate their efforts, while he made play with the candidature of Isabella. But he was careful to permit her partisans to press claims of a kind which made acceptance impossible; it was, in fact, possible only on condition of the Spanish Netherlands being attached to England, a prospect which receded as the negotiations went on—precisely as Cecil intended. In March 1603, in her seventieth year, Elizabeth was struck down with mortal illness. Cecil's skill had ensured that none were about her person in whom he could not trust. His allies were in control of the fleet and of the available troops; no counter *coup d'état* was possible. Before dawn on 24th March the great queen had passed away, and Cecil's messenger was racing north to hail the king of Scots James I. of England.

The end of Elizabeth.

IV. James VI. in Scotland

In July 1567 Mary's infant son, being then thirteen months old, became technically king of Scots by her abdication, though she and her supporters never recognised the deed as valid. The one man who could rule the country was Moray; and, hard as the task was, his government was deserv-

1567-83. Summary.

ing of high praise. But it was brought to a premature end by his murder in January 1570. Two brief regencies followed—that of Lennox and that of Mar—each of them lasting a little over a year, before James Douglas, earl of Morton, assumed the supreme office at the end of 1572. During this time, and until Morton had been regent for nearly six months, the government had been more than hampered by a sort of civil war, in which a party headed by Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange had stood for the restoration of Queen Mary. This was brought to an end by the capture of Edinburgh Castle, the death of Lethington, perhaps by his own hand, and the execution of Kirkaldy in March 1573, three months after John Knox had breathed his last. Morton was supreme from this time with only a brief interval, until he was overthrown, as we have seen, in 1580 by Esmé Stuart, duke of Lennox, and James Stewart, a member of a quite different family, not of the royal line, who was made earl of Arran just before Morton's execution in June 1581. Then the raid of Ruthven again placed the young king in the hands of the Protestant lords until his escape from them in 1583, when he joined Arran, who for a time became supreme. The Hamilton earl of Arran whom we have seen as a suitor for the hand of Elizabeth had become hopelessly insane. In 1583 James completed his seventeenth year.

The successive regents had had before them apart from the normal business of government—the preservation of order and the maintenance of justice—the double policy of completely establishing the reformed religion and preserving friendly relations with England.

Knox and the preachers of the Reformation in Scotland had learnt their doctrine at Geneva. Their theology was Calvinistic, and of an extreme type; their views of the relations between Church and State were theocratic—that is, they believed fervently in their own authority in things spiritual, while they reckoned that that authority gave them something like a supreme control over things secular as well. They conceived that the kings and minor secular powers owed to them the same sort of submission which the prophets of Israel claimed

The preachers.

from the Hebrew kings. Their theory of church government was democratic; the Church was self-governing, not to be controlled by the State, although at the first there was no attempt to overthrow the episcopal system. Only the prelates were early deprived of their disciplinary powers, which were vested in the General Assembly of the Kirk, an elective body consisting of laymen as well as of ministers.

To Morton and men of his type these were claims to be sharply repressed. Morton cared nothing for religion; Protestantism was in his view a political necessity, chiefly as a means to subordinating the Church to the State after Henry VIII.'s fashion, and appropriating its revenues to secular purposes. While Mar was regent and Knox was still living, Morton established the system of what were called the 'tulchan' bishops, a term derived from the dummy calves or *tulchans* used by farmers to encourage their milch cows. The Church was Morton's milch cow. The bishops were bishops, but their revenues were absorbed by others.

The tulchan bishops.

James passed his boyhood under the control of the preachers; his tutor was George Buchanan, one of the foremost scholars of the time and a rancorous enemy of Queen Mary. So the young king imbibed much learning, and with it an intense abhorrence for the arrogant domination of Andrew Melville, Knox's successor in the ecclesiastical leadership, and others of his kind. Thus early he became thoroughly convinced that monarchy was bound up with an episcopal system in which, as in England, the clergy would inevitably be bound to the Crown, and the bishops would be not the king's schoolmasters but virtually his dependents. When Morton fell, Lennox was not in a position to avow openly an intention of recovering Scotland for Rome. He had indeed won the king's regard partly by his professions that the extraordinary dialectical acumen of the boy of fourteen had convinced him of the truths of Protestantism.

The boyhood of James.

1581. The First Covenant.

The party of the preachers, delivered from the curbing power of Morton, moved forward in 1581 with their own programme. They introduced the First Covenant, which denounced Romish doctrines and practices, and

which both the king and Lennox thought it well to sign; and the *Second Book of Discipline*, which was to be the text-book for the organisation of the Church on the Presbyterian system, abolishing the episcopate altogether. But Lennox was strong enough to procure its rejection by the Estates. Nevertheless, the Church did, in fact, proceed to organise itself on the Presbyterian lines.

But in 1584 the Gowrie party, the men of the raid of Ruthven, were down; Arran and the young king were dominant. Scottish parliaments were the instruments of whatever party happened to have captured the administrative control of the State, and the Scottish parliament of 1584 registered the will of the rulers in the reactionary 'Black Acts,' which asserted the supremacy of the Crown, forbade the meeting of any General Assembly without the royal permission, and restored a real control to bishops appointed by the Crown.

1584. The 'Black Acts.'

Unlike Lennox, Arran was a Protestant and professed friendship for England; but Elizabeth preferred the Gowrie group to Arran, and procured their restoration to Scotland in 1585. Arran's political activity came to an end. There was a prolonged lull in the turmoil of parties, and a moderate and pacific government was established—so moderate and pacific that it offered no serious protest when Mary was beheaded at Fotheringay. It waited till 1592 to reverse Arran's achievement of 1584. In that year parliament repealed the Black Acts and established the *Second Book of Discipline*; in other words, the State, though only for a time, confirmed the Presbyterian system, which it is as well to understand, since Presbyterianism became a very important factor in England as well as in Scotland in all the domestic struggles of the next century.

1592. The Presbyterian system.

Presbyterianism, then, is a system not of theological doctrine but of Church government, democratic in its structure. It places ecclesiastical control in the hands of bodies largely elective, forming in Scotland an ascending series of four. At the bottom is the Kirk Session, the governing body of the parish, consisting of the minister and the 'elders,' laymen appointed to that office by the congregation. Next comes the Presbytery, the governing body of a group of parishes, consisting of the ministers of those

parishes with representative elders. The third is the Synod or group of presbyteries; and the fourth is the General Assembly, still consisting of the ministers and representative lay elders. The system dispenses with bishops altogether, and can be accompanied only by a form of episcopacy in which the bishops have a merely subordinate authority.

The contrast with Episcopacy.

It is usually held by Anglicans that the discarding of bishops involves the disappearance of the Apostolic Succession conveyed by the laying on of hands at Ordination and Consecration, though Presbyterians maintain that the apostolic laying on of hands does not require an episcopate. Insistence on the theory of Apostolic Succession is consistent with, though not involved by, Presbyterianism. There is nothing to prevent a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian church from teaching identical doctrines. But Episcopacy stands for the continuity of tradition and practice; it appeals to conservatism. Presbyterianism set aside the continuous tradition and practice of the Church. It originated among those reformers who were most strenuous in casting aside tradition, in appealing from the authority of custom to the authority of Scripture as the only authentic expression of the Divine sanction.

Association with Calvin.

The system of government was devised by Calvin, and it followed that in practice it was associated with the Calvinistic theology—a theology not in itself incompatible with Episcopacy or with the formularies of the Anglican Church, or at least with a possible interpretation of those formularies. It was quite possible to be a doctrinal Calvinist and yet to prefer the Episcopalian to the Presbyterian system; but the advocates of a Presbyterian system were habitually advanced Calvinists, and Calvinists tended to advocate the introduction of Presbyterianism because of the essentially conservative character of an episcopal system.

Antagonistic to monarchy.

But Presbyterianism vested all spiritual authority in the assemblies, rejecting all secular authority. It asserted the spiritual independence of the Church as vigorously as a Hildebrand or a Becket. It offered a democratic opposition to the supremacy of the Crown, instead of the merely

clerical opposition which an episcopate could offer. Since it was in its nature hostile to episcopacy, an episcopate threatened by it could only be powerful when in alliance with the Crown; while the Crown saw in an episcopacy dependent upon itself its own safeguard against a democratic church and its political corollary, the self-assertion of a democracy in affairs of state. James was wont to sum up the position in a favourite phrase: 'No bishop, no king.' And in Scotland the magnates, who were no friends to democracy or to the self-assertion of the preachers, inclined to support the Crown's view, but only so long as the Crown did not attempt to override their interests.

The one protection of the Crown set up in the Act of 1592 was the presence of the king himself, or of a commissioner appointed by him as his representative, in the General Assembly. The triumph of Presbyterianism set the king intriguing with the Catholic magnates, though without openly leaguing himself with them. The exposure in 1593 of a Catholic plot for procuring Spanish intervention, known as the Affair of the Spanish Blanks, compelled the king publicly to take action against the Catholic leaders, of whom the chief was Huntly. But he had the general support of the lay magnates in treating them with extreme leniency. The apparent victory of the ministers had been by no means complete. The General Assembly had no legislative authority, and desired representation in the Estates. Successive meetings of parliament in 1597 and 1598 provided first that any bishops, abbots, or prelates whom the king should appoint should have a vote in parliament, and that the Church should have fifty-one representatives, nominated partly by the Crown, and responsible to the General Assembly. In 1600 the nomination of all the representatives was placed in the hands of the king, and in the same year the king appointed three new bishops, who with the old bishops had the right of sitting in parliament, though without having episcopal powers of control over the Church. It appeared, in fact, that James was in a fair way to restore episcopacy and to win the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown.

1593-1600. James recovers ground.

CHAPTER VIII. ASPECTS OF THE TUDOR PERIOD

I. Crown and Parliament

The seventeenth century, the century after the Tudors, is the period of English history in which most conspicuously the constitutional struggle overshadowed all other questions. Crown and Parliament are in constant collision, because each regards itself as the constitutional seat of sovereignty. There had been constitutional struggles in the past, but the question *where sovereignty resides* had never presented itself in that shape. Magna Carta had embodied a definite principle as between the king and his subjects generally, that the king may not override the law. Under Edward I. another principle had become established, that the consent of the freeholders and landowners of the country, accorded by themselves or their representatives, must be obtained for the levying of taxes, and should be obtained for legislation intended to be of a permanent character. After another century the king was dethroned; and the usurper obtained a parliamentary sanction for his accession. The new dynasty *ipso facto* recognised an authority in parliament much greater than had hitherto been exercised, but parliament lacked effective controlling power, and its newly acquired authority went to pieces in the Wars of the Roses, not because its validity was directly challenged, but because practically it was not asserted when armies began to take the field. After Edward IV. had crushed armed resistance at Barnet and Tewkesbury the Crown was virtually able to dispense with parliaments. Magna Carta, the *Confirmatio Cartarum*, the Model Parliament of Edward I., and parliamentary control of taxation, remained fundamental features

Past and future constitutional struggles.

The new monarchy.

of the constitution. But only during the Lancastrian period could any one have been found to assert that sovereignty was vested not in the Crown but in Parliament. The Crown was not absolute, its powers were definitely limited in certain directions, but it was sovereign for practical purposes. Nor was there any popular desire to increase the popular or parliamentary share in the government of the country, provided always that the government itself was firm and stable, in reasonable accord with popular sentiment, and that justice was administered satisfactorily.

Now these were precisely the conditions which, broadly speaking, were satisfied by the Tudor government. The entire administrative control was centralised in the Crown. The ministers were more completely the king's servants than they had been at any time since the days of Henry II.; none was ever appointed or dismissed under pressure from parliament or from a baronial or a clerical party. Even the jurisdiction which the Crown had exercised outside the common law through the Privy Council was extended by the Court of Star Chamber and afterwards by the Court of High Commission. Under Cromwell's régime parliaments, instead of claiming to exercise an increasing authority, themselves conferred upon the Crown specific additional powers, indirectly by the Treasons Act, directly by the Act of Supremacy and the Royal Proclamations Act. Henry VIII. came nearer to being an absolute ruler than any of his predecessors. And yet it was Henry VIII. who taught parliament to believe in its own authority, and to assert it as soon as the Crown attempted to set public opinion at naught. After the death of Henry VIII. parliament never hesitated to assert itself even in opposition to the expressed will of the Crown.

The Crown.

Thus we have the paradox that parliament was taught its own powers by the king, on whom it bestowed powers which were almost despotic. Between 1471 and 1529 parliaments were rare, except during the years following the accession of Henry VII., since during that brief period the first Tudor could not afford to give colour to the charge that he was a tyrant—after the end of Perkin Warbeck he summoned only one more parliament. Henry VIII. had con-

The revival of parliament.

tinual parliaments between 1509 and 1515; in the next fourteen years there was only one parliament; nor is there any sign that the country was displeased by the suspension of parliamentary functions. Constituencies were not anxious to be represented, because of the expense; members, with only occasional exceptions, were not anxious to serve, because of the trouble, though when the Commons did meet they were quite determined to insist on their own privileges. The country apparently only wanted parliaments when the king wanted money. But from 1529 till the king's death there were only three years in which parliament did not meet.

Those parliaments were in general accord with the Crown; but it must also be recognised that they were in general accord with the will of the nation at large, otherwise they would not have served the king's purpose. He meant to go upon his own course precisely so far as he could do so without alienating his subjects; and his parliaments were to serve the double purpose of stamping his actions with national approval and of indicating the state of public feeling. The House of Lords had almost ceased to count; the peers, if they needed the lesson, had been taught by the fate of Buckingham how completely they lay at the king's mercy. Opposition to the Crown in the Commons did not carry with it the same danger; the commoner who took up the cudgels was protected by the law for his action inside the House, and could not, like the great magnates, be penalised by the process of demonstrating that he was engaged outside the House in plotting against the Crown. Terrorism could not apply to the Commons as it did to the Lords.

Henry VIII.'s use for parliaments.

To a certain extent the House could be packed so that the Crown could generally command its majorities; many of the members were simply the nominees of magnates upon whom the Crown could rely, and in a very few constituencies they were the nominees of the Crown itself. But too much packing would have destroyed the value of the House as a barometer of public opinion. Consequently we find that the Commons showed a very appreciable amount of

The allegation of packing.

independence. They did not merely register the king's decrees; especially if their pockets were touched, they offered a stubborn resistance. It was only when Cromwell's work was already almost completed that a parliament was much more thoroughly packed in 1539 in order to finish the work. Even then it did not follow that the electors adopted the candidate nominated for them by Cromwell. The theory that the House of Commons was filled up with members who either dared not oppose the royal will or were nominated only on condition of obeying it is quite unsupported by evidence. And the theory that the king created new boroughs in order to provide himself with additional supporters collapses in face of the fact that there were not half a dozen new boroughs created in his reign altogether.

Finally, in relation to Henry VIII. we observe: first, that no member of the House of Commons was punished for free speaking in the House, though language was used there which outside the House would have been treasonable; secondly, that the king enacted nothing except by Act of parliament; and thirdly, that he went out of his way to obtain parliamentary sanction for his settlement of the succession, although he had received express authority to settle the question himself. Evidently such treatment accustomed parliament to a conviction that it was entitled to have all measures of reform submitted to it, to discuss them freely, and to reject them if it thought fit to do so.

Summary: under Henry VIII.

So in the two next reigns parliament was not in the least subservient either to Somerset or to Northumberland. It would have nothing to say to the Protector's social reform. In 1553, when Northumberland was preparing to make his desperate bid to retain power in his own hands, he did make a very great effort to pack a subservient parliament; but even then that parliament insisted on modifying his Treasons Bill. Mary's parliaments flatly rejected her proposals for restoring ecclesiastical property, and until her fourth parliament they declined to revive the penal statutes against heretics. The subserviency of Tudor parliaments, as far as the evidence is concerned, appears to be merely a fiction

Under Edward VI. and Mary.

imagined by those who have already convinced themselves that the country at large was strongly opposed to the policy of Henry, and therefore find themselves obliged to explain away the support which that policy received from parliament.

Elizabeth's parliaments.

In the whole of Elizabeth's reign of five-and-forty years there were fewer sessions of parliament than in the last eighteen years of Henry VIII. Elizabeth's parliaments were always loyal and never subservient. No one suggests that, under her, parliament was dragged along by the Crown; on the contrary, it was the Commons, not the Crown, which persistently endeavoured to force the pace. She knew that in effecting the ecclesiastical settlement upon Protestant lines, in going to any length she chose in defying Spain and supporting Protestants abroad, in stringent treatment of Mary Queen of Scots, in anti-Romanist legislation, she would have the support of parliament; on every one of these questions parliament was only eager to urge her forward. The almost incredible flatteries of her courtiers were merely an exaggeration of the popular loyalty to the person of the queen. On the main lines of her policy she had no need of a barometer to test how far she could go with safety. What she required her faithful Commons for was to vote supplies when necessary, and to demonstrate to the world at large that there was a substantial public opinion pressing her on.

Growing claims of the Commons.

But in Elizabeth's reign troubles to come were foreshadowed. The Commons had already attained to the conviction that there were no matters of state too high to fall within their province as advisers of the Crown. Elizabeth wanted their goodwill and their support, but she did not want their advice, which they persisted in tendering upon two subjects, which in her opinion were outside their province altogether. One was her marriage, and, associated therewith, the recognition of a successor; the other was the control of religion—the former a purely personal affair, the latter a prerogative of the Crown. On that head, of course, precedent went back no further than her father. But the agreement between the Crown and the Commons rested upon a basis so substantial, at least up to the time of the Armada, that there was

no opening for serious quarrelling. On more than one occasion the queen rated her parliaments soundly for their impertinent interference in matters with which they had no concern, but she did not succeed in stopping them from tendering advice or from discussing anything they thought fit to discuss. They were satisfied to go on expressing their opinions in patriotic and loyal language, while she atoned for her scoldings by making such minor concessions as appeared to her to be politic. There was no open collision because there was no violent divergence of interests. The queen held to her theory, and the Commons held to theirs, but the difference in theory could be endured so long as both Crown and Commons wanted very much the same thing in practice.

Most notable among the audacious champions of parliamentary liberties, especially with respect to the question of the succession and to ecclesiastical affairs, was Paul Wentworth, who like his brother Peter was for several years member for a Cornish borough—a curious comment on the common impression that Cornwall was selected by Mary and Elizabeth as a suitable region for the creation of boroughs under control of the Crown. The duchy was, in fact, somewhat conspicuous both then and afterwards for returning leaders of parliamentary opposition to the Crown. Paul Wentworth was so outspoken that in 1576 he was sent to the Tower for a time; yet he was so little influenced thereby that in 1593 he again provoked the queen so seriously that he was again imprisoned in the Tower, and was kept there till his death three years afterwards.

Freedom of debate.

In fact, during the last ten years of Elizabeth's life, when the supreme national questions had already been settled, it was becoming more and more obvious that a real conflict of authority between Crown and Parliament would result after the queen's death from any serious divergence between them. The Commons were not willing to push forward such a contest so long as the old queen lived. The nation owed her too much to be disposed to embark on a quarrel during the few years which were all that could remain to her. When she was gone it would be time

A conflict foreshadowed.

enough to bring matters to an issue, should that prove necessary. But the point of supreme significance is that parliament had learnt not to await the royal initiative. Hitherto bills had very rarely been vetoed by the Crown, for the simple reason that very few had been introduced except at the instance of the Crown; but in 1598 ninety bills passed the Houses, of which more than half were vetoed by the queen. Doubtless the bills were unimportant, and no one was perturbed when the queen rejected them. But the fact remains that all those bills and presumably some of the others had not emanated from the queen or her ministers.

Elizabeth's last parliament.

The uneasiness of the situation found expression in the last parliament of the reign, that of 1601; when the House of Commons was on the verge of insisting upon a bill for the abolition of Monopolies, against which a petition had been presented, without practical results, three years before. The right to grant monopolies, exclusive rights of production and sale of particular commodities, was accounted a royal prerogative, and to that prerogative the bill would have been a direct challenge. Elizabeth saved the situation by promising a general cancellation of the monopolies which constituted a grievance. The prerogative, therefore, was not formally challenged; and the battle over that question was deferred till another reign.

II. The Expansion of England

What the State did.

The two outstanding features of the Tudor period for England, the features which give its supreme glory to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are the creation of the English sea-power and the creation of English literature. With one of these the State was not concerned at all, and with the other only to a limited extent. Mainly by giving individual enterprise a free hand, by intervening only to encourage and protect but not to direct or control individual activities, the State fostered the maritime expansion which was developed by private energies. After the first voyage of John Cabot the State gave no help to

explorers; all that it did was to apply the principles of protection to the shipping industry by the Navigation Acts, to foster the home production of shipping materials and equipments in order that the country might not be dependent upon foreign supplies, and, after the Reformation, to ordain the continuation of the Lenten Fast, no longer as a religious duty, but in order to encourage the fisheries as nurseries of maritime efficiency.

Piracy before Elizabeth.

For half a century after Columbus's voyage English sailors accomplished little that was remarkable, though William Hawkins set the example, which was to be followed by his more famous son, of voyaging to the Guinea Coast and to the Brazils; not to the entire satisfaction of the Portuguese. Spaniards and Portuguese were in possession of the whole tropical belt, where there was little room for the intervention of any other nations. English activities were largely of a piratical order, in the nature of quite lawless robbery. For the preservation of law on the high seas was nobody's business; in the narrow seas and in European waters generally it was difficult enough for merchantmen to protect themselves from pirates; on the broad ocean it was almost impossible, and some time before Henry VIII. was dead the depredations of English sailors were the subject of diplomatic complaints from Spain. In the reign of Mary this piracy became aggravated; turbulency, Protestantism, and the Spanish marriage combined to draw considerable numbers of gentlemen to give lawless expression to their political and religious views by raiding Spanish commerce. A good deal was learnt in this school of pure piracy which was turned to account by the adventurers of Elizabeth's reign, who, however, professed and generally managed to believe that their own practices were quite legitimate.

Northern voyages.

But while the Englishmen could hardly operate in the tropical regions otherwise than as pirates, except by leave of the Spanish and Portuguese authorities, another if a less attractive sphere was open to them, the discovery of an Arctic route to the Indies, either on the north of America or on the north of Europe, a north-west passage or a north-east passage. In search of a north-east passage, Willoughby and

Chancellor sailed from the Thames in the last days of Edward VI. Willoughby was lost; Chancellor made his way to the White Sea, and thence overland to Moscow, the capital of Ivan the Terrible, the Russian Tsar. As yet Russia was outside the European area, the area in touch with Western civilisation; and this 'Discovery of Muscovy' was the first opening of communication between England and the remote barbarian power. Before seven years had passed Chancellor's voyage was followed up by the journey of Anthony Jenkinson, who travelled to Moscow *via* the White Sea like his predecessor, and thence penetrated across the Caspian Sea into Central Asia as far as Bokhara, returning to England in 1560.

1553. **Muscovy.**

From the moment when Elizabeth had established herself firmly on the English throne, when she and Cecil had proved to themselves that they could afford to ignore all dictation from Spain, when public confidence in the strength and stability of the government had been completely restored, the national energies burst forth in full vigour, and they found their principal field of action on the seas. Mary had done what she could to hold in check the privateering which was in itself a protest against her rule. Elizabeth denounced it, but her denunciations were merely a cloak for secret encouragement.

Elizabeth: privateering.

Modern European states are apt to consider themselves entitled to apply force to semi-civilised or uncivilised powers which do not recognise the demand for the open door. In the sixteenth century it appeared to Englishmen unreasonable that the door of the New World should not be open. They did not dispute the Spanish claim to the vast regions which they had annexed; they did dispute the Spaniard's right to exclude them from traffic with those regions. And they raked up a kind of legal warrant for their attitude in the old treaties with Burgundy, never cancelled, which guaranteed free trading intercourse. They claimed the right to trade, and the right to practise their own religion without interference. In the eyes of Philip both claims were preposterous. He forbade the English trade on pain of death, and if English sailors

The open door.

were captured they were liable to be handed over as heretics to the Inquisition. The result was that an attitude of mind was produced on both sides which was most perfectly typified in an incident with which not the English but French Huguenots were concerned. A French colony was planted in Florida. The Spaniards wiped it out, announcing that they had destroyed the French 'not as Frenchmen but as heretics,' and occupied the colony themselves. A French expedition retaliated by wiping out the Spanish settlers 'not as Spaniards but as murderers.' Each, in fact, claimed that international law was on their own side, and endeavoured to impose their own views on the other side, at the sword's point, if other forms of persuasion failed. From the English point of view, the seizure of Spanish ships and treasure was merely fair reprisal for the iniquitous methods of the Spaniards. And Elizabeth declined to interfere so long as Philip maintained his claim to penalise the heresy of her subjects. The chances of fighting and loot provided more stirring attractions for the enterprising youth of England than any merely legitimate trading, and English adventurers swarmed over the seas.

English heretics.

The lead was taken by John Hawkins, who shipped negroes from the Guinea coast, kidnapping them or buying them from death or slavery at the hands of the African chiefs. Thence he carried them to the West Indies, where negro slaves were wanted, as being much hardier labourers than the natives. The negro trade was a lucrative monopoly of the Spanish Crown; the Spaniards were by no means averse from benefiting by the English competition, but they could only venture to do so if they could plead compulsion, a plea which Hawkins had no objection to providing. On his third voyage he took with him Francis Drake. After doing a successful trade he started for home, but had to put back to refit at San Juan D'Ulloa, the port of Santa Cruz. There he was attacked with flagrant treachery by an official Spanish squadron. Two of his three ships escaped by hard fighting, but with the loss of many men; Hawkins and Drake came home, the sworn enemies of Spain and all her works. This business provided one

1567. San Juan D'Ulloa.

of the excuses for Cecil's seizure of the Genoese treasure on its way to Alva in 1569, and it was, in fact, the event which inaugurated what was practically open war between English and Spaniards 'beyond the line.'

In this war Drake soon became the protagonist. In 1572 he sailed for the Spanish Main with three small ships and a hundred and eleven men all told. He surprised Nombre de Dios, the principal port on the Isthmus of Darien; penetrated into the isthmus till he came in sight of the Pacific, and vowed that he would one day sail upon that ocean; captured two great mule-trains carrying gold and silver across the isthmus; and finally succeeded in making his way home. In 1576 John Oxenham emulated this daring deed, and did actually launch pinnaces upon the Pacific, though he was caught and put to death by the Spaniards.

1572. Drake.

Then in December 1577 Drake started on his most famous voyage. Hitherto no man had succeeded in following the course which Magelhaës had taken fifty years before through the dangerous strait which bears his name. It was generally believed that Tierra del Fuego, on the south of that strait, was the extremity of an Antarctic continent. The only recognised route to the Pacific was round the Cape of Good Hope, but Drake chose the Strait of Magellan for his gateway. It was not used by the Spaniards, who carried the mineral wealth of Peru up to Darien, and transported it overland to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Twelve months after he started, Drake and his famous ship the *Pelican*, otherwise called the *Golden Hind*, sailed into the Peruvian port of Valparaiso, and thereafter spent several weeks in clearing ports and treasure ships till the *Pelican* was as full as she could hold of gold and silver and precious stones. His appearance was totally unexpected, and his ship could outsail and outmanœuvre anything the Spaniard had in those waters. The rest of his ships had foundered or gone home from the Strait of Magellan, but before he made his way up the Pacific he appears to have satisfied himself that the sea was open on the south of Cape Horn.

1577-80. The great voyage.

After securing as much booty as he could carry, Drake continued his voyage northward, touching on California; but after going a good deal further north than any of his predecessors in the Pacific, presumably with the idea of finding a northern passage home, he returned to California, and having there refitted, started to cross the ocean by way of the Spice Islands, and so round the Cape of Good Hope back to England. In the sixth month, January 1580, the *Pelican* grounded on a reef and was all but lost. In June the Cape was rounded, and in September the *Pelican* was back in Plymouth Sound.

Round the world.

The year before Drake sailed Martin Frobisher began a series of voyages for the Arctic regions in search of a north-west passage, a scheme enthusiastically advocated by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In the course of his three voyages Frobisher explored much of Frobisher's Sound, which he supposed to be a strait. A few years later, from 1585 to 1587, John Davis carried Arctic explorations still further; and in 1586-8 the world was for the second time circumnavigated by an Englishman, Thomas Cavendish.

Frobisher and Davis.

It would be superfluous to enumerate the voyages of Englishmen after the defeat of the Armada; but one of these deserves special mention, the Guiana voyage of Sir Walter Raleigh, who explored the Orinoco in 1595, mainly with intent to discover the fabled Manoa, the city of Eldorado, the Golden Man, which was rumoured to exist somewhere in the heart of South America. Raleigh did not discover Eldorado, but he did bring home very valuable geographical information as to what he had seen, as well as marvellous reports of what he had only heard.

The Orinoco.

For two reasons the year 1583 is particularly notable in the story of English expansion; for that year witnessed the departure of Newbery and Fitch on an eastern journey through Syria, and also the first attempt to give effect to the idea of colonisation conceived in the brain of Humphrey Gilbert. Newbery and Fitch travelled by land to the head of the Persian Gulf, and thence were conveyed by sea to Goa, the principal

Fitch.

Portuguese station on the west coast of India. In India Fitch remained for some years, travelling over the vast dominions of Akbar, the third and the greatest of the line of the great Moguls, visiting even further India and Ceylon, and returning in 1591 to sow the seed which germinated with the formation of the East India Company in the last year of the century.

Humphrey Gilbert, the half-brother of Walter Raleigh, who was a child of their mother's second marriage, was a dreamer who dreamed not only of a north-west passage, but of planting across the seas an English colony, a new home for Englishmen—altogether different in conception from the Spanish colonial idea, which bore a nearer analogy to that of the later British dominion in India. For the carrying out of such a plan he obtained a charter as early as 1578, and Raleigh had shares in an expedition which started with intent to give it effect in 1579 but turned aside to attack the West Indies, to no great purpose. In 1583, however, Gilbert led an expedition to Newfoundland, to which England had laid a vague sort of claim ever since its discovery by John Cabot. An order from the queen herself alone prevented Raleigh from accompanying his brother. The attempt was a failure; three of Gilbert's five ships deserted or foundered, and when the last two were sailing home the little *Squirrel*, having Gilbert himself on board, went down in a storm with all hands. Elizabeth's seamen may have been lawless and untractable, their Puritanism may excite the contemptuous incredulity of the modern cynic, but they were men who had a living faith in a living God, to whom in all honesty they gave the glory when they smote the Amalekites and spoiled the Egyptians. 'We are as near God by sea as by land,' were the last words uttered by Humphrey Gilbert while the *Squirrel* was still within hail of her consort.

Gilbert.

Gilbert failed, his mantle descended upon Raleigh, and Raleigh failed. In 1584 he took up his half-brother's task, and dispatched an expedition, not so far to the north as Gilbert's, to find a suitable spot for carrying out the scheme of a colony. The site chosen was Roanoke, and there next year Raleigh planted the colony to which he gave the name of Vir-

Raleigh.

ginia in honour of the Virgin Queen. The expedition was led by Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of the *Revenge*; the colony of one hundred men was left under the governorship of Ralph Lane. But when succours were sent to them next year, it was found that the colonists had thrown up the attempt, and had been withdrawn aboard of Drake's squadron fresh from the raid on Cartagena. Thrice again Raleigh attempted to plant his settlers; thrice they were wiped out. But the great idea survived, to be given effect by other men when Raleigh was eating out his heart as a prisoner in the Tower, and Elizabeth was in her grave.

III. Economics

Broadly speaking, the Tudor period in its economic as in its other aspects falls into two divisions, the era of revolution and the era of reconstruction; the accession of Elizabeth forming the line of division. The first is marked most conspicuously by grave, persistent, and increasing agricultural depression, and latterly by financial chaos, in which the debasement of the currency was a prominent factor, affecting the commercial as well as the agricultural community. And beside these we find grievous complaints from the old boroughs of commercial depression and the decay of their old prosperity. Henry VII., when taxes were imposed, found it necessary to concede to many of the large towns substantial deductions from the amount payable under the standing assessments; and in the later years of Henry VIII. the citizens of many places formerly conspicuous for wealth were lamenting bitterly that houses and whole streets were falling to pieces; among which towns were numbered York, Hull, and Lincoln in the north, Rochester and Portsmouth, Winchester, Salisbury and Exeter.

Depression under the early Tudors.

On the other hand, it is obvious that the depression was by no means universal. If the rural population were reduced to misery by enclosures and the substitution of pasture for tillage, the landowners were making very handsome profits from their wool-growing. If the old boroughs were decaying, it was largely

because trade was passing from them to the unchartered towns which were unhampered by gild regulation. Numbers of the mercantile class were growing rich, rich enough to become eager purchasers of the monastic lands when they came into the market; there were wealthy classes which emulated to the best of their ability the huge sumptuary extravagances of Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. The decay of the boroughs meant not a decay of trade but the rise of new commercial centres which displaced them. That process had been at work through a great part of the fifteenth century, and with a tolerably obvious reason. The various trade-gilds in the boroughs had become close bodies, which sought to prevent competition by the exclusion of new members; consequently their would-be competitors established themselves outside the jurisdiction of the gilds.

Counter-vailing prosperity.

In doing so they were helped by the passing away of the time-honoured theory that to lend money at interest was contrary to Christian ethics. The enterprising trader was able to borrow money to start and expand his business, which until the latter part of the fifteenth century it had hardly been possible for him to do. The objection to usury had not been a mere clerical device; it had been supported by the popular conscience. If a man entered into partnership with another, well and good; he took his share of the risks, and his share of the profits. If he chose to lend his money on security without taking interest for it, that was also well. But it was immoral to take security for recovery of the loan and, besides security, to demand interest. Obviously, on those principles, money could be lent not as a matter of business, but merely as a personal favour. But when in the fifteenth century men began to accumulate wealth, they wanted their accumulations to be productive. They could be made productive if they were, so to speak, let out on hire; it was worth a man's while to lend his money for a consideration to a person for whom it was worth while to give consideration for the loan; and the moral objection to taking security, as well as consideration, ceased to appeal to men's consciences. Thus the trader who was in need of money

Lending and borrowing.

was enabled to obtain it as a matter of business if the security he could offer appeared to be sufficient.

The decay of the boroughs, then, does not, in fact, contradict the other evidence that commerce flourished. England in the reign of Henry VII. definitely pushed her way into the world's markets, assisted by the king's commercial treaties, and by commercial wars in the only sense in which wars can conduce to prosperity. A commercial war which ends in a drawn battle can benefit neither of the parties concerned in it; a war which ends in a decisive victory may in its consequence compensate the victor for the losses incurred in the struggle itself.

Development of foreign trade.

In the earlier conditions of English commerce it was necessary to attract the foreign trader to England by the reluctant concession of privileges, though counteracted by restrictions, because the English trader did not seek foreign centres. Henry VII. was not yet strong enough to withdraw the privileges granted to the German Hansa, and the Hansa was still strong enough to preserve barriers against English competitors in the foreign trade. The intensity of the English jealousy of foreigners was illustrated in the London riot called Evil May Day in 1517. But as English commerce expanded, and English merchants forced their way into the preserves of the Hansa, the power of the league broke down. The Hansa was a loose confederation of great commercial cities whose rivalries were now counting for more than their community of interest. The cities of the league did not, in fact, hold together, and at last in the reign of Edward VI. it was possible for the English government, in 1551, to cancel the Hansard privileges. Thenceforth no foreign merchants enjoyed in England legal rights which gave them an advantage over English competitors.

The Hansa.

Enclosures, pasture, and rural depression entered so largely upon the political area that they have already received their due share of attention in the political narrative, down to the accession of Queen Elizabeth. We turn now to the era of economic reconstruction in the reign of Elizabeth.

When Cecil took up the work of first minister to Queen Eliza-

beth, he found facing him a series of economic problems, the solution of which he knew to be necessary to the establishment of a broad-based prosperity; for even the restricted prosperity of Henry VIII.'s reign seemed to have been undermined by the last eighteen years of financial mismanagement. The rural depression was at its worst, exaggerated by bad harvests and pestilence. The excess of the supply of labour over the demand kept wages at a minimum, and while the currency was perhaps worth one-third of its face value there had been no corresponding rise in the nominal wages of labour. There were large numbers of efficient workmen for whom there was no employment; numbers who had learnt to prefer vagrancy to work at such wages as were available. The suppression of the monasteries had destroyed the only institution in the country which had hitherto recognised some responsibility for the maintenance of the destitute, and the country was swarming with people who were destitute and without relief. The boroughs were bewailing their own decay. Foreign trade was suffering from the chaos in the exchange caused by the depreciated coinage; the royal navy had gone to pieces, and the expansion of the mercantile marine was falling off. The immediate return to honesty and economy in the public departments, and the restoration of a standard currency, were the necessary preliminaries to the re-establishment of public confidence, which is a condition of prosperity. These were at once taken in hand and set in order in an astonishingly short time, with entire success.

1558. Problems for Cecil.

The next move was to reorganise the regulation of trade upon sound lines. That the regulation of trade was the business of the State was an axiom which no one had hitherto thought of calling in question; but the State had operated mainly, as concerned internal trading, by legalising the authority of the craft-gilds in chartered boroughs, and as concerned foreign commerce by giving authority and monopoly to chartered companies of merchants, such as the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers.

State regulation.

Cecil dealt with the internal regulation of trade by the Statute

of Apprentices of 1563, which subordinated the method of local control by craft-gilds to the principle of national uniformity. The question was one of machinery; and the Elizabethans worked by their regular method of modifying and adapting the machinery which they found in existence so as to produce a general uniformity, and at the same time to permit a degree of elasticity—very much as was the case with the ecclesiastical settlement. Taking the custom of London as its model, the Act scheduled the existing trades which were under the regulation of craft-gilds, and required that no one should set up as a master in any of those trades until he was at least twenty-four years of age and had served a seven years' apprenticeship. Custom, however, at the same time would seem to have permitted that the ex-apprentice should not be actually restricted to the particular trade in which he had served his apprenticeship. The presumption that he would stick to the trade which he had learnt, or to one in which what he had learnt would be of material service, was strong enough to prevent the haphazard adoption by incompetent persons of trades to which they had not been trained. The theory of all such rules was that they were intended to secure the efficiency and competence of the master and adequacy in the work turned out.

The Statute of Apprentices.

Apprenticeship required.

With the same theoretical object of keeping up the trade standard, the gilds had fixed qualifications without which no apprentices were accepted. So the Act forbade the leading trades to receive apprentices who were not the sons of at least sixty-shilling freeholders; while the lamentations of the chartered towns were answered by conceding to them a somewhat larger latitude: they might apprentice the sons of forty-shilling freeholders. To the minor trades no such restrictions were applied, and a smith or a carpenter might take the son of an agricultural labourer for an apprentice. The progress of the minor trades thus enabled them to absorb a part of the surplus rural labouring population; and as new trades grew up during this reign, trades which were not scheduled, and for which apprenticeship was therefore unnecessary, they also

Qualification for apprenticeship.

helped to reduce the surplus and to bring about the readjustment of labour demand and supply.

The Act applied everywhere, not only within the area of jurisdiction of the craft-gilds. The authority was largely vested in the justices of the peace as the agents of the central authority; and craft-gilds or new combined companies which were taking their place, supplied both information and machinery for carrying out the statute, in which the general principle of national uniformity displaced the principle of local autonomy. In particular, the regulation of wages, which in the borough had rested with the craft-gilds, was now transferred to the justices of the peace. Variations of local conditions, of course, made it impossible to apply uniform rates all over the country. It was understood that the function of the magistrates was to fix rates which were fair. They could probably always be counted upon not to set them extravagantly high, and public opinion would prevent them from adopting an unreasonably low standard. The standing variations between summer and winter rates point to a general recognition that the minimum should not fall below a subsistence rate, and that when more work was being done in summer than earned a subsistence rate in winter, the wages ought to be proportionately increased.

Duties of justices of the peace.

Commercial development took the form of an extension of chartered companies, always as yet on the old principle that the company had a monopoly, and the members of the company traded individually. The Joint Stock Company, in which the members were shareholders and the trading was done by the company's servants, controlled by a board of directors who distributed the profits, was a later development. The maritime expansion and the new fields which were gradually opened to commerce, tended to the multiplication of companies. Chancellor's 'discovery of Muscovy' was followed by the formation and the chartering of the Muscovy Company to open up trade with Russia and with Asia through Russia, in connection with which business Jenkinson made his journey to Bokhara. Then came the Eastland or

Commerce: chartered companies.

Prussian Company for the Baltic trade; Prussia really meant Prussia, the province on the south-eastern shore of the Baltic, not the German state of Brandenburg, which ultimately annexed both the province and its name. In 1581 the Venetian monopoly of the eastern Mediterranean was attacked by the Levant Company, in whose interests Newbery and Fitch made their journey. Last and greatest of all was the East India Company incorporated on 31st December 1600, the last day of the sixteenth century, a company which some hundred and fifty years later was suddenly, a good deal to its own astonishment, to find itself transformed into an imperial power. The same principle of chartered companies with governing powers was called in for the colonising schemes of Gilbert and Raleigh; but as yet those schemes were not taken up as commercial enterprises. It was not till they appealed to the commercial mind and colonisation was pursued as a matter of business, in the reign of James I., that actual colonial expansion became possible.

The plantations.

The trading companies were the product of personal enterprise; the development of new industries at home was directly fostered by the State, mainly in two ways—by the granting of monopolies and bounties, and by planting foreign industrial colonies in England. The latter was principally consequent upon the exodus of Protestants from the Low Countries seeking an asylum, an escape from the rule of Spain. These newcomers were received with less hostility than would otherwise have been the case, out of sympathy with the cause which had driven them to England. As competitors the emigrants were unpopular; but they were less so when they brought in industries not hitherto practised, which provided fresh openings for employment for the English themselves. It is probable that the peculiar industries of Birmingham, which pushed that town to the front in the course of the next century, were introduced by refugees from the Netherlands; and the cotton industry, although it did not acquire prominence till long afterwards, we probably owe to fugitives from Antwerp where the cotton trade was established, and to the opening made for it

Imported industries.

elsewhere by the trade depression due to the vicissitudes undergone by that great city during the Dutch struggle for independence.

New industries were wanted by statesmen, not so much on economic as on national grounds. The unmitigated economist would have left them to develop themselves, but the politician wanted things to be made in England even at an enhanced cost, when otherwise England was dependent upon the foreigner for the supply. For munitions of war, iron and copper, sulphur and saltpetre were wanted; as an inducement to their production, bounties and monopolies were granted. For the training of Englishmen in the casting of guns, foreigners were expressly imported; and under Elizabethan conditions it is doubtful whether the guns and the gunnery which ruined the Spanish Armada would have attained their necessary superiority without such artificial aid. Unhappily the monopolies were not confined to such products as these; they were also granted by the Crown without economic or national justification as a species of pension to royal favourites. There were cases where there was at least plausible ground for arguing that, without security against competition, the risks of embarking upon a new trade, a new kind of production, were too great to be undertaken, and that compulsory powers of the kind which in modern times are bestowed upon railway companies were a necessity. But in many instances this was not the case. In granting monopolies the Crown exercised a right which had never been disputed, but when it was employed to excess it was inevitable that sooner or later the right itself would be challenged. In 1601 the challenge was only postponed, because the Queen's Grace promised no more to exercise the right to the detriment of Her Majesty's subjects.

Monopolies.

In one other field the active intervention of the State had become necessary, the problems of destitution and of unemployment. How was work to be found for those who were willing to do it? How were those who were unwilling to be forced to work? How were the destitute who were unable to work to be provided for? The Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 was the final answer of the

The Elizabethan Poor Law.

Elizabethan statesmen; it was the outcome of patient experiment throughout the reign, and it served its purpose with little modification, not unsuccessfully, for nearly two hundred years, when the Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century altered all the conditions of the problem. For the relief of the destitute, to discharge the functions which had formerly belonged mainly to the monasteries, it was at first attempted to rely upon voluntary contributions procured by exhortations from the pulpit. Such voluntary methods proving inadequate, the magistrates were authorised to apply to the charitable for weekly contributions. Then came more open compulsion, when they were empowered to assess the sum which each householder must pay; then came the appointment of overseers, and the order to provide locally a stock of materials upon which the indigent unemployed might be set to work for wages. The government had before it the example of London which had established the House of Correction at Bridewell, where compulsory work was given to the offenders, another of the numerous instances in which the government applied to national institutions methods which London had already tested on its own responsibility. In its final shape the Poor Law of 1601 established in each parish a 'workhouse' in which the authorities were obliged to provide work temporarily for those who could find none for themselves, and to maintain those who were incapable of doing work. Thus it was possible to draw at least a rough and ready line between the wilfully idle who were proper subjects for punishment, and those who were willing to work if they could get work to do. The new Poor Law did not err on the side of tenderness; it could not, like the monasteries, be charged with encouraging idleness; but it did provide relief for genuine destitution, and sturdy vagabonds ceased to infest the countryside.

IV. Literature

The actual dawning of an English literature, a literature written in what is to modern eyes recognisable as the English

language, dates from Langland, Wiclif, and Chaucer in the second half of the fourteenth century, though we may reckon that their coming was heralded by the ballads of Laurence Minot and by Sir John Mandeville's English version of his travels. But after the glorious promise of Chaucer, there was little sign that England was destined to high rank among the literary nations. The only classic of the fifteenth century was Sir Thomas Mallory's *Mort Arthur*. In Scotland the light which Chaucer had kindled was kept aglow; for a century and a half Scottish poets completely outshone their prosaic English contemporaries. The poet-king, James I., had a worthy successor in Robert Henryson towards the end of the fifteenth century; at the beginning of the sixteenth Bishop Gawain Douglas was the first poetical translator of Virgil, besides producing commendable original poetry, and after him the Chaucerian tradition was maintained by Sir David Lindsay. More notable than any of these, as being originators not followers, were the anonymous author of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* and *Peebles to the Play*, and William Dunbar, the remote literary ancestor of Robert Burns in his rollicking and bacchanalian moods. But after the grip of Calvinism fell upon Scotland her published literature was for the most part absorbed by controversial theology; her 'makers' continued to pour forth songs and ballads instinct with poetry, but they were preserved only by oral tradition.

Before the Tudors.

Scotland.

In England there was no more poetry worthy the name until the later years of Henry VIII. The revival of literary culture signalised by the establishment of Caxton's printing-press and by the introduction of the study of Greek in the reign of Henry VII., produced no creative impulse except in Thomas More, whose *Utopia* was one of the most original works ever penned by an Englishman. Yet the *Utopia* did not become an English classic until it was translated out of More's Latin into English by Ralph Robynson in 1551. More's real contribution to an English literature was his admirably dramatic *History of Richard III.* For the most part, Englishmen who wrote at all did so because they had something to say

Under the early Tudors.

of a practical character, and the arrival of the printing-press had given them the opportunity of making themselves heard; they wrote without cultivating literature as an art. The real literary impulse is to be found rather in translators such as Lord Berners, who rendered Froissart's *Chronicle* into vivid English, and in the English chronicler Richard Hall, or in the biographical sketches of Sir Thomas More by his son-in-law William Roper, and of Cardinal Wolsey by his usher George Cavendish. The Reformation was not a good school for literary artistry; and yet the finest artistry of language is to be found in the English Liturgy, for which we are indebted to Thomas Cranmer.

Yet by the end of the reign of Henry VIII. the new culture was beginning to bear fruit. Thomas Wyatt and that Earl of Surrey who was beheaded just before the king's death, studied to purpose the only modern literature which had established itself, the Italian. They introduced new forms of versification, notably the sonnet and blank verse, and from this time the fashioning of dainty verse became a pleasing amusement in cultured circles. Nevertheless, Elizabeth had been on the throne for full twenty years before a single one of the works had been written which share with the deeds of her sailors the most brilliant glories of her reign.

Surrey and Wyatt.

In 1579 were published the *Shepherd's Calendar* of Edmund Spenser and the *Euphues* of John Lyly. From one point of view *Euphues* is a grotesque and intolerable absurdity, wearisome, filled with far-fetched conceits and fantastic distortions of language, not to be redeemed from condemnation by its admirable moral sentiments. On the other hand, although it was certainly not a book of permanent value, at the moment of its publication and in the history of English literature it was of a very marked significance. It was the first work in English prose in which the author set himself consciously to a decorative use of language, deliberately treating the medium of expression as demanding no less attention than the matter expressed. Lyly did not, in fact, invent Euphuism; it was in the air. It was the protest of a fastidious culture against barbaric

1579. Euphues.

crudeness, of idealism against the commonplace; not the less genuine because it ran to the wildest contrary extremes of pedantry and fantasticalness. As an attempt to create a model prose style it was a ridiculous failure, but its vices were manifested by their excesses, and it emphasised the intellectual demand for an adequate appreciation of the value of words. The vice of Euphuism permeated elegant society, captured by a delight in sheer ingenuity; no one sinned more flagrantly than Shakespeare himself when the fit took him, though no one ridiculed it more effectively than he in other moods, and no one knew so well as he how to turn what was good in it to the best account. The extravagances of Euphuism passed away into the limbo of literary absurdities, but Lyly had set the example of consciously pursuing verbal artistry in prose composition.

The *Shepherd's Calendar* is notable as the first work by one of those whom we know as the great Elizabethans. In itself it would not give Spenser rank as anything more than a particularly charming minor poet. But it revealed, as no one except Chaucer had revealed before, the capacities of the English language for metrical expression. The name of Spenser is the first in the great muster-roll, though he had had one predecessor, Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst, who deserted the muses for politics, but not till he had left evidence, in his contributions to a volume called *A Mirrour for Magistrates*, of qualities akin to Spenser's own.

The Shepherd's Calendar.

Between 1579 and 1586 Philip Sidney was writing but not publishing the *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets and the *Defence of Poesy*, as well as the *Arcadia*, which may in some sense be regarded as the precursor of the novel; and the drama was beginning to take shape in the hands of Peele and Lodge and Greene. Probably in 1587 appeared *Tamburlaine*, the first terrific melodrama of young Christopher Marlowe, who was killed in a tavern brawl before he was thirty in 1593, the earliest year to which we can with any confidence attribute any known work by his contemporary William Shakespeare, whose birth year was the same as Marlowe's. The great tragedies *Faustus* and

1579-1590.

Edward II. did not appear till after the Armada. In 1590 Spenser won for ever his place in the first rank of the Immortals by the publication of the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*. As we look back we can see that 1579 was the year which marked the arrival of the great era of English literature; but almost the whole of that literature, all that was greatest in it, was not produced until the tremendous crisis of the Armada was over.

As the glory of the Athenian drama followed upon the rout of Persia at Marathon and Salamis, so the glory of the English drama followed upon the rout of Spain. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church had appropriated the Stage; it had utilised for its own purposes the irrepressible popular instinct for dramatic representation. The churchmen had encouraged the miracle plays or *mysteries*, dealing with episodes in biblical history or the lives of the saints. The term 'mystery,' by the way, has nothing to do with the ordinary meaning which we derive from the Greek word, but, like the name of 'mistery' applied to a craft, is a corruption of the Latin *ministerium*. Out of these were developed the Moralities, in which the persons of the drama were virtues and vices. The love of display, characteristic of the earlier Tudor period as well as of Elizabethan times, led to the multiplication of 'masques' or pantomimic pageants; but no further advance was made for a time.

The stage in the past.

The revival, however, of classic studies was already producing in Italy imitations of the Latin drama; and before the accession of Queen Mary an English schoolmaster, Nicholas Udall, had given his boys an English farce to perform, *Ralph Roister Doister*, adapted from their classical studies. For tragedy no better model was known than the Latin of Seneca, and Sackville collaborated in the production of the first English tragedy in blank verse, *Gorboduc* or *Ferrex and Porrex*. The dramatic form seized the popular fancy, and during the next twenty years dramatic representation became highly popular, though no work of any literary merit has survived. Companies of strolling players were familiar, but they still were accounted as vagabonds, unless they were under the protection of some

Revival of play-acting.

nobleman. They performed in the courtyards of inns or in a nobleman's hall, and they proved so attractive that the City of London banished them from its precincts because the erring youth were drawn away by them from due attendance at the church services. This was probably the reason why the first real theatres were set up on the Surrey side of the Thames. Then in the eighties came the improvements in the literary form of the drama at the hands of the university playwrights, Lodge, Peele, Greene and Marlowe—men of education if their habits were Bohemian.

The 'Elizabethan' writers.

Of all the great writers whom we are accustomed to call Elizabethans not one was born as early as 1550, not one had reached manhood when the Parisians were massacring the Huguenots on the eve of St. Bartholomew. Spenser, Marlowe, and Sidney, if we include him on the list, alone had died before the queen. Sidney would not have been fifty, Marlowe would not have been forty, had they been alive when she died. In actual point of time, all the great dramatists belong as much, or more, to the reign of James I. as to that of Elizabeth. Excepting some of the essays, none of the great works of Francis Bacon actually belong to the earlier reign. But all the great writers—Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Middleton, Drayton, George Chapman, Bacon, Raleigh, and Richard Hooker, even those whose work belonged wholly to James's reign, such as Beaumont and Fletcher, were bred in the Elizabethan atmosphere and imbued with the Elizabethan spirit.

Their common characteristics.

In the second half of the great queen's reign, and chiefly in its fourth quarter, the superabundant energy and vitality which had been aroused in the nation, discovered and exploited this new field. This is not the place for criticism in detail of the work which was produced. We must, however, remark that the characteristics which belong most essentially to this literary epoch are precisely the characteristics which especially distinguish the Elizabethan era—the combination of a tremendous energy, a supreme audacity and self-confidence, with a balanced judgment and a singular sanity. The power which makes the last scene of *Faustus*

terrific instead of grotesque, the power which transformed *Hamlet* from a melodrama into a majestic tragedy, was essentially sane, but nothing less than Elizabethan audacity could have dared to attempt either, unless, indeed, it had been the arrogance of incompetence. It was precisely the same audacity which taught Drake and Hawkins to defy the might of Spain, the same sanity which ensured them the victory. So it was with the statesmen, so it was with Bacon, the man who dared to 'take all knowledge to be his province,' the acutest counsellor ever ignored by a fatuous monarch.

Shakespeare's England.

And these are not the characteristics only of the Elizabethan men of action and men of letters whom we name and know by their deeds and their writings. They are the characteristics of the everyday men and women of the time, the people of England, which only received their highest expression in the more notable personalities. We know it because the master of all masters has shown us what English men and women were. We can assert with entire confidence that the world which Shakespeare painted was the world he knew, the live men and women he saw around him, even when he called them by the names of Roman senators or of long-dead Englishmen, or made them play their parts in Venice or Milan or Verona.

CHAPTER IX. EUROPE, 1603-1660

THE period of the reign of Elizabeth in England, and the period of the reign of Philip II. of Spain in Spain very nearly coincided. For forty years Spain overshadowed the rest of Europe, and even to the hour of his death Philip remained unconscious that her supremacy was broken. His subjects in one corner of his vast dominions were obstinately and successfully persisting in revolt; he had failed to overthrow England; he had failed to prevent the accession of Henry IV. in France. But Spain was still ostensibly the greatest of the powers, except for the single fact that on the seas her fighting fleets were completely outclassed by the fighting fleets of the English. It was only at the moment of his death that Henry IV. in France had at last succeeded in establishing his own sway and in ending the internecine character of the religious struggle. Elizabeth had evaded carrying out the policy of advanced English imperialism advocated by Raleigh. The United Provinces had not yet achieved their independence. The German Empire was not a homogeneous power, nor had any of the states of which it was composed achieved a decisive hegemony or leadership, although the Imperial crown had always been worn by a Hapsburg for a hundred and fifty years.

1603. The situation.

Religion and nationalism were the two controlling motives of politics. Philip's double aim had been to absorb the nations under the sway of Hapsburg rulers and to stamp out heresy. The spirit of nationalism in the English Catholics had forced them to submit to the penalising of their faith as the price of freedom from foreign rule; the same spirit in French Catholics had forced them to accept the toleration of Protestantism. Philip's was the only power in Europe which

Religion and nationalism.

stood out as the uncompromising champion of Tridentine orthodoxy, commonly called Catholicism. His German cousins had not followed his example, and the states of the Empire lived upon the compromise which left to each prince the control of religion within his own dominions.

But in 1660, the year when Louis XIV. assumed autocratic control in France and Charles II. was restored to the throne of England and Scotland, all was changed. Spain had lost her pride of place; France was definitely the first military power on the Continent; maritime supremacy was disputed between England and Holland; Austria, with the hegemony of the German states, had superseded Spain as the continental rival of French ambitions; Portugal had all but completed its severance from Spain. Protestantism and Catholicism ceased to be the decisive factors in the combination of European alliances. Aggressive Catholicism was concentrated in the autocratic ruler of France; but it was the Catholicism of the Jesuits, not of the Papacy; we cannot call it papalism or Romanism, because the Papacy itself as well as Catholic Austria did not hesitate to ally itself with Protestant powers in antagonism to France.

1660. A changed situation.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was no general perception that the power of Spain was already in decay. For more than half a century the majority of Englishmen continued to look upon her as the natural enemy of England and of Protestantism. But that shrewdest of European statesmen, Henry IV., realised that while the real danger of the future sprang from the Hapsburgs, the Austrian branch of the house was to be a more serious menace than the Spanish. The Huguenot prince who had regarded the crown of France as 'worth a Mass' had no fervent religious convictions; but he was bound by every conceivable tie to champion the cause at least of toleration for Protestantism. More important than the question of religion itself to him was the prospect of the European supremacy of the allied Hapsburg dynasties, and, as matters stood, he perceived that the effective championship of Catholicism was about to be assumed by the

1603. The Hapsburgs.

Austrian branch. At the moment when he had completed his preparations for throttling that development in its infancy by means of a great Protestant combination, he was assassinated. There was no one capable of taking his place, and before ten years were past the devastation of Germany by the Thirty Years' War had begun.

That war developed into the battle of German Protestantism for life. It ended with the demarcation of Germany into definitely Protestant states in the north and definitely Catholic states in the south; but that conclusion also made an end of religious differences as a motive to political differences within the Empire. The war, however, had not been merely a struggle of religions among the Germans. Spain had taken a share; Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had intervened; France, under the direction both of Richelieu and Mazarin, struck in, actuated by purely political motives; when Wallenstein led the imperial forces, religion was in the background.

1618-48. The Thirty Years' War.

During five of the thirty years, England meddled very ineffectively in the war, and managed to embroil herself simultaneously with French as well as Spanish. After the German war was ended a Franco-Spanish duel continued, and the Lord Protector struck in, by no means ineffectively, on the side of France. Besides spasmodic intervention in the Thirty Years' War and in the Franco-Spanish war, we shall find England in the early days of the Commonwealth engaged in a fierce private contest with the United Provinces. The foreign complications were to a great extent responsible for pushing forward the constitutional crisis in England, though in the main the influence of foreign upon English affairs was indirect; therefore we shall perhaps find it the simplest course to outline continental events down to the year 1660, as a preliminary to the account of the progress of events in England.

England and the Continent.

In 1598 Philip II. just before his death made peace with France. In 1604 a treaty was signed between England and Spain, and in 1609 a twelve years' truce was made between Spain and the

United Provinces, which were from that time virtually independent, though after the twelve years they had again to resist a renewed attempt upon their liberties. The three treaties—of 1598 with France, of 1604 with England, and of 1609 with the Hollanders—marked the check upon the actively aggressive policy of Spain. This was the moment when Henry IV. of France was preparing the blow which was intended to destroy the threatening development of a Hapsburg combination. The blow was foiled by the dagger of the assassin Ravaillac; the crown of France passed to a child, and the regency to the queen-mother, Mary de Medici, who reversed her husband's policy, so that for several years to come the French government was a friend instead of the antagonist of Spain. But Spanish aggression was in suspense. The collision between the hostile forces was to take place within the borders of the Empire, not of the Spanish dominion.

1598-1620. Spain and France.

The German Empire consisted of a large number of states, small and great, some of them being lay lordships and some ecclesiastical, whose rulers bore a variety of titles, and in theory held their dominions of the emperor. The princes of the first importance were the seven electors—the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Elector Palatine, and the king of Bohemia; the last, however, counted only in the actual election of the emperor. The electors formed one house in the Imperial Diet, which was the nearest equivalent to a parliament of the Empire. The Second Chamber consisted of all the territorial magnates, lay or ecclesiastical, who held of the emperor; their subjects were unrepresented. The Third, and quite inferior, Chamber represented the free cities, which had no overlord but the emperor. In the Electoral Chamber the three lay electors were Protestant and the three archbishops Catholic. In the Second Chamber the ecclesiastics outnumbered the laymen by two to one. A clear half of the princes were Catholic bishops and abbots, and not all of the lay princes were Protestant. Thus there was a strong Catholic preponderance in the Diet, although if there had existed a chamber representative of the people at large, like the English

The Empire.

House of Commons, there would have been in it a substantial Protestant majority.

The Pacification of Augsburg in 1555 had secured the authority and the property of lay Protestant princes; ecclesiastical estates which they had secularised remained secularised. But three questions were left, which provided an opening for future trouble. The first was as to the right of the Protestant princes to continue the secularisation of ecclesiastical land within their own dominion, a right which they asserted and were practically able to enforce. The second was the question of the 'Ecclesiastical Reservation.' The treaty provided that any bishop or abbot turning Protestant *ipso facto* vacated his position. According to the Catholic interpretation of the terms, those ecclesiastical territories were bound to remain Catholic for all time. But according to the Protestant interpretation, when a bishopric fell vacant it was open to the chapter to elect a Protestant, who was then entitled to hold the position. Acting on this principle, a few of the bishoprics had been brought over to the Protestant side, legally according to the Protestant view, illegally according to that of the Catholics. The third point was that at the time of the pacification all the Protestant princes were Lutherans, and provision was made only for Catholicism and Lutheranism; but as time went on the Protestant princes in the south, upon whom the pressure of their Catholic neighbours was stronger than in the north, tended to adopt Calvinism, the type of Protestantism most irreconcilable with Romanism. And very unfortunately for the Protestant cause, Lutherans and Calvinists were little less antagonistic to each other than to Catholics.

The Augsburg pacification.

Throughout the reign of Philip II. in Spain, Germany remained quiescent; for the time the *modus vivendi* served its purpose, and the Austrian Hapsburgs generally, though none of them embraced Protestantism, were not ill disposed towards it. Nevertheless, an aggressive party was gradually developing on both sides. The two great electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg were satisfied with the existing conditions; they were conscious of no menace. But the

1600-9. Omens of strife.

Protestant territories west and south of Saxony, including the two divisions of the Palatinate, lay in the midst of the great ecclesiastical principalities girdled by Catholic states. On the west of them were the three archbishop electors, and behind these were the Spanish provinces; on the south lay Catholic Bavaria, and behind Bavaria the family dominions of the Hapsburgs, though these included on the east the kingdom of Bohemia, where as yet the population was mainly Protestant. At the turn of the century it appeared to the southern Protestant princes that there was every prospect that the Hapsburgs would depart from the attitude of toleration within their own dominions; while Maximilian of Bavaria, the ablest of the ruling princes, held ultra-Catholic views on the disputable questions of Secularisation and the Ecclesiastical Reservation. Ferdinand of Carinthia, the ablest of the Hapsburg archdukes, had already in effect suppressed Protestantism within his own dominions. Without going into details, it will be sufficient here to say that in 1608 a Protestant union, nominally for defence against aggression, was formed under the guidance of Christian of Anhalt, and a counter-Catholic league was immediately formed, also professedly for self-defence, in which the ruling spirit was Maximilian of Bavaria.

In 1612 the childless Archduke Matthias succeeded his brother, Rudolf II., as emperor. He had already obtained from Rudolf the kingdom of Bohemia, the archduchy of Austria itself, and the crown of Hungary, though one-third of that country was in possession of the Turks, and another third, Transylvania, was virtually independent. But more important than the accession of Matthias himself was his recognition of his cousin, Ferdinand of Carinthia, as his heir with the assent of the other Hapsburg archdukes, the brothers of Matthias; for Ferdinand was an aggressive Catholic.

Matthias and Ferdinand of Carinthia.

The Protestant aristocracy of Bohemia had been able to secure a large degree of religious liberty from Rudolf and Matthias; whether the Bohemian charter known as the 'Letter of Majesty' would be maintained under Ferdinand was another matter. The Bohemians made it known that they intended when Matthias died to act upon their constitutional

Bohemia.

right of electing their own king. But in 1617 the Bohemian estates were summoned while they were as yet unprepared to offer resistance, and were in effect forced to acknowledge Ferdinand as the heir of Matthias. In the early summer of the next year the Bohemians revolted, murdered the two administrators whom Ferdinand had left at Prague, and set up a provisional government. They soon found that they had nothing to hope from the elector of Saxony, to whom they appealed for support; and they resolved to offer the Bohemian crown to the young Elector Palatine, Frederick, who was the husband of the king of England's daughter Elizabeth. Frederick was rash enough to accept the offer. In August 1619 Ferdinand was formally deposed, and Frederick was elected, the former having just acquired the Imperial crown upon the death of Matthias.

Hitherto no one had been in haste to come forward actively in aid either of the Bohemians or of the authority of Ferdinand.

1619. The Elector Palatine.

But Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown at once attached Bavaria and the Catholic League to Ferdinand. The Catholics would not face the prospect of doubling the electoral vote of the Calvinist Elector Palatine and giving an electoral majority to the Protestants. By joining Ferdinand, Maximilian expected to get for himself the Upper Palatinate, which bordered on Bavaria, and the substitution of himself for Frederick as an elector of the Empire.

The northern princes did not care that even a Protestant should have a double electoral vote, or that Bohemia should be united to the Palatinate. Ferdinand secured the neutrality of Lutheran Saxony by minor concessions; King James in England was not zealous to take up arms on behalf of his son-in-law, who had rejected his advice, and who had obviously put himself in the wrong. Before the end of 1620 Frederick was expelled from Bohemia by a crushing defeat at the White Mountain. No help

1620. Loss of the Palatinate.

came from the Protestant Union, which was soon afterwards dissolved. The Catholics made full use of their victory. Ferdinand's government completely suppressed Protestantism in Austria and in Bohemia, as

it had done years before in Carinthia and Styria. Maximilian conquered the Upper Palatinate, while the Lower Palatinate, on the Rhine, was overrun by troops from the Spanish Netherlands. The Hapsburgs had virtually drawn an almost complete girdle round the west, the south, and the east of Germany; and besides this, the Spaniards could now send troops from their dominions in Northern Italy through the Valteline into Tyrol, and so by land through Hapsburg territories, or territories dominated by the Hapsburgs, up to the Spanish Netherlands, with which hitherto their only communication had been by sea. The active union of the whole Spanish and Austrian Hapsburg power for the purposes of vigorous Catholic aggression threatened to imperil the existence of German Protestantism.

This was the situation in 1624 when both France and England intervened. Hitherto King James had indulged in empty hopes of persuading Spain to ally itself with England and to unite with him in composing the quarrel between the Elector Palatine and the emperor, and procuring the reinstatement of his son-in-law Frederick in the Palatinate. But at this juncture there was a rupture with Spain, which, in fact, never had any intention of adopting the policy laid down for it by James. And at the same moment the disastrous regency of Mary de Medici in France had been set aside by the young king, Louis XIII., who had taken for his chief minister the great cardinal, Richelieu, the heir of Henry IV.'s political conceptions. The heir to the English throne was betrothed to the French king's sister, Henrietta Maria. England was ready enough for another war with Spain; but her intervention was so ill managed that the only practical purpose it served was to develop domestic discord. Richelieu, on the other hand, not out of affection for Protestantism but in order to check the Hapsburg ascendency, drove the Spaniards out of the Valteline and severed their route of communication with the Tyrol. His activities were stopped by the development of a Huguenot insurrection in France, of which the motive was not really religious but political, and some years passed before he could again intervene effectively against the Hapsburgs.

1624-5. English and French intervention.

There were two Protestant powers in the north, apart from the United Provinces (now engaged once more in a struggle with Spain), which viewed with anxiety the prospect of the supremacy in Germany of Ferdinand and the Catholic League. The king of Denmark, Christian IV., was a prince of the Empire in virtue of his duchy of Holstein; and he had a family interest in sundry Protestant bishoprics which, sooner or later, were bound to be claimed for Catholics in accordance with the Catholic interpretation of the Ecclesiastical Reservation. Christian was, in fact, the first of the Lutheran princes to awaken thoroughly to the fact that Protestantism throughout Germany was being threatened. Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was moved by a more heart-felt religion than most of his neighbours, but to him the Hapsburg progress meant also a Hapsburg ascendency in the Baltic, which would cripple Sweden. Unfortunately antagonism between Danes and Swedes made direct co-operation impossible. Gustavus, finding that Denmark was preferred for the Protestant leadership, postponed intervention, having matters of his own to settle with Poland.

Denmark and Sweden.

But at this time there appeared on the scene a new personality on the imperial side. This was Albert of Waldstein, best known as Wallenstein, a member of an old but impoverished Bohemian family, who had acquired vast wealth and estates by a fortunate marriage. The imperial victories had been won by Tilly, the general of the Catholic League; and Ferdinand was bound to the ecclesiastical policy of Maximilian of Bavaria. When Christian of Denmark took the field, as well as the adventurers, Count Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, who had hitherto maintained the struggle against Ferdinand, Wallenstein came forward with an offer to raise a new imperial army, to be maintained not by pillage but by compulsory contributions from the public authorities in the districts where it was quartered. Ferdinand's need of money, without which it appeared probable that the tide of his success must turn, compelled him to accept Wallenstein's offer, though the levying of such contributions was strictly illegal. Wallenstein cared nothing for religion; his army was not Catholic but imperialist.

Wallenstein.

By the end of 1629 Denmark had been forced to make peace on Wallenstein's terms, and the Catholic League had realised with extreme alarm that the Bohemian upstart's intention was not to achieve a triumph for Catholicism but to establish the personal supremacy of the emperor—not as the figurehead but as the master of the German Empire.

All the efforts of the League were concentrated upon forcing Ferdinand to dismiss Wallenstein, an object which Richelieu sedulously fostered by his diplomacy, while he was also encouraging Gustavus Adolphus to take the place vacated by the retirement of Christian of Denmark. Ferdinand gave way, since he could not hope to procure the election of his son as king of the Romans and heir of the Empire except by conciliating the four Catholic electors, Maximilian and the three archbishops. Wallenstein went into retirement, and Ferdinand issued the Edict of Restitution, restoring to the Catholic Church all ecclesiastical lands which had been secularised since the Pacification of Augsburg.

1629. The Edict of Restitution.

The Edict of Restitution in the spring of 1629, the landing of Gustavus Adolphus in the summer of 1630, and the dismissal of Wallenstein a few weeks afterwards, mark a new phase. Before entering on it we have to note certain points with regard to France and England. Down to 1628 Richelieu's hands had been tied by the Huguenot rebellion and the resistance offered to the French government by the great sea fortress of La Rochelle; and matters had been complicated because the duke of Buckingham, instead of either giving vigorous support to Christian of Denmark or organising a determined attack upon Spain, elected to quarrel with France and espouse the cause of the Huguenots. But in 1628 Buckingham was assassinated; a few months later Charles had begun his attempt to rule without the assistance of parliament at all, and as a necessary consequence his lack of revenue virtually prohibited active intervention of any sort in continental affairs. From 1628 till 1651 England was a negligible factor in continental politics, whereas hitherto she had been ineffective and uncertain but not negligible. The death of Buckingham was immediately

France and England.

followed by the fall of Rochelle; Richelieu, however, used his victory not for the suppression of the Huguenot religion but to confirm the principle of toleration, while depriving the Huguenots of the peculiar political privileges which had been conceded for their protection but had been used by them for the embarrassment of the central government.

But this was the moment when Wallenstein had assured the victory of the emperor in Germany. Direct intervention in Germany itself was not part of Richelieu's programme. There what he aimed at was the removal of the dangerous Wallenstein through the instrumentality of the Catholic League; while Sweden was to be called in to do the work of German Protestantism. For France herself the business on hand was, to sever the Austrian from the Spanish Hapsburg power, by breaking up the continuity of Hapsburg territory on the Rhine and in North Italy, and establishing French influence and French ascendency in both those quarters.

Richelieu's policy.

Now in 1630 there were three policies open to the emperor. The aggressive policy of the Calvinists had been beaten out of the field, chiefly because the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had refused to endorse it. Its defeat made possible a policy of toleration on the basis of recognising the existent Protestant bishoprics and secularisations. But this was satisfactory neither to the Catholic League nor to Ferdinand. The second of the alternative policies was expressed by the Edict of Restitution, but this was a policy not of pacification but of aggression, a policy which deprived the northern Protestants of what they had enjoyed for three-quarters of a century. It was a policy which could not be enforced without a decisive military superiority on the side of the Catholic League. It was not, however, Tilly and the League who had given Ferdinand the victory, but Wallenstein. Without Wallenstein, Ferdinand was not strong enough to coerce the north; and now the north was reinforced by the appearance on the scene of the Swedish king, the greatest soldier of the age. The third alternative was for the emperor to place himself in the hands of Wallenstein, who stood for toleration, and in whose army Catholics, Lutherans, and

1630. Ferdinand.

Calvinists had fought side by side. But Wallenstein's policy meant an effective imperial supremacy over the princes of the Empire, with the imperial power substantially wielded by Wallenstein himself; and however much this might have been to the taste of the German population, it was not at all to the taste of the princes of the Empire. The Catholics themselves were not prepared to submit even to any emperor as a real master, much less to Wallenstein. Ferdinand chose to adopt the League policy, to maintain the Edict of Restitution, and to dispense with Wallenstein.

Ferdinand made peace with France by surrendering to the French candidate the succession to the duchy of Mantua, which was the immediate bone of contention in North Italy. Spain had proved itself a broken reed, from which the Austrian Hapsburg could get no effective help in his own difficulties. The Protestants of the north held back from joining Gustavus Adolphus; they were afraid of creating a foreign ascendency in Germany and of a Swedish ascendency on the Baltic, which would inevitably result from the triumph of his arms; and they still believed that the pressure upon the emperor would be strong enough to procure the revocation of the Edict of Restitution. Gustavus was unwilling to advance without the support of Brandenburg and Saxony. But Protestant Magdeburg had revolted against the Edict, which converted it back into a Catholic bishopric. The imperialists besieged it, captured it after a stubborn resistance, and gave the city to the flames after a ghastly saturnalia of outrage and bloodshed.

1631. Magdeburg.

Intoxicated with their success, the League assumed an attitude so aggressive as to drive Saxony into the arms of the king of Sweden, who had already coerced the elector of Brandenburg into an unwilling alliance. Gustavus advanced, and inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon Tilly at Breitenfeld. The Swede swept through Germany, carrying all before him, and in 1632 turned upon Bavaria. Ferdinand was obliged to call Wallenstein to the rescue. In April 1632 Tilly was mortally wounded in battle, and Wallenstein was established in command of the imperial armies upon his

1631-2. Gustavus and Wallenstein.

own terms—terms which meant in effect that he was to be himself an independent prince and also the military dictator of the Empire. Before, whatever his personal ambitions were, his primary aim had been to build up the supremacy of the emperor, resting it upon the power of Wallenstein's army. Now he intended no longer to be the servant of the emperor, no longer to be dependent upon him, but to be himself master, and to enforce his own policy upon the German princes—a policy of religious compromise and the exclusion from German affairs of any foreign influence other than his own, whether French or Swedish; for it must be remembered that Wallenstein was not a Teuton but a Slavonian from Bohemia. The great Swede was at last matched against another great commander; but it was some time before the two met in a pitched battle at Lützen.

The Swedes were victorious, but at a disastrous cost, for Gustavus himself was killed. Wallenstein fell back to Bohemia.

Deaths of Gustavus and Wallenstein.

But the death of Gustavus had not only removed a great soldier. He had brought into the war an element at least of moral elevation, which disappeared with his fall. He himself might have reorganised German Protestantism and reconstructed the German Empire, but there was no one to take his place; the separate interests of all the heterogeneous groups that he was beginning to weld together again dominated the situation; Swedes, French, and German princes had diverse and incompatible aims. On the other side, the personal power of Wallenstein was intolerable to the Catholic princes and alarming to Ferdinand, as well as to the Spaniards, who no longer saw in it a means to the aggrandisement of the house of Hapsburg. In 1634 Wallenstein himself was murdered. Nevertheless, at the end of that year the imperialists won a great victory at Nordlingen, which undid the work of Gustavus so far as South Germany was concerned, although in North Germany he had made the policy of the Edict of Restitution permanently impossible.

In 1635 an attempt to bring the war to an end was made by the partial Peace of Prague, but that instrument only proffered terms which some of the Protestant princes were able to accept

without enthusiasm, while they were wholly unsatisfactory to the rest. They did not in effect offer sufficient inducement to combine Germany against the Swedes and the French, who were each of them bent on making their own profit out of the war. And at the moment when the Peace of Prague was signed France declared war against Spain. From Richelieu's point of view it had become more necessary than ever to secure the Upper Rhine away from the Hapsburgs, and to destroy the continuity of the belt of Hapsburg territory on the eastern frontier of France.

1635-42. The war.

It is superfluous here to follow the course of the continued struggle in detail and the varying fortunes of the war. In 1637 Ferdinand II. was succeeded by Ferdinand III., who had little of his father's ability and less of that religious enthusiasm which had most strongly actuated the emperor's policy. But a campaign in 1638 robbed the Hapsburgs of their position in Alsace; and although the victorious general, Bernard of Saxeweimar, had intended to hold the region as a German principality, it, in fact, passed into the possession of France with his death in the following year.

Richelieu himself died in 1642. By war and by diplomacy he had carried out the policy of Henry IV.; he had played his part in preventing Europe from falling under the domination of the allied houses of Hapsburg; and he had thereby materially helped in securing the complete independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Moreover, he had turned the eyes of Frenchmen to the Rhine and the Rhine provinces; and the fruit of his operations in Alsace was to be that conception of France's 'natural boundaries' which was to have portentous developments at future epochs. But besides this he had maintained within France the principle of religious toleration, which had been threatened by the action of the Huguenots more than of the Catholics. Still more important was his organisation of the power of the Crown, the central authority, as against the disintegrating power of the aristocracy. That work was to be completed under his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, with the effect of making Louis XIV. the most

The great cardinal.

absolute sovereign who had ever reigned over a great European country.

Richelieu's death did not practically affect the war. He was succeeded by a pupil whose methods were different but whose ends were the same, Cardinal Mazarin. In the next year Louis XIII. died, leaving the four-year-old Louis XIV. as king. The queen-mother, Anne of Austria, became regent; and, to the general surprise, she retained Mazarin as chief minister, and held to Richelieu's policy, though she herself had been a Spanish Infanta, who might have been expected to desire friendly relations with Spain. There was no *rapprochement* between France and that power. The exhaustion of the combatants in the Thirty Years' War ended that struggle in 1648 by the series of treaties known as the Peace of Westphalia. Religious peace was established in Germany on the lines of the Pacification of Augsburg; but 1624 was taken as the date regulating the distribution of bishoprics and secularised lands—that is to say, the bishoprics which were Protestant at that date, and the lands which had been secularised down to that date, were recognised permanently as Protestant; and Calvinism was secured the same liberties which had been accorded to Lutherans in 1555. Among the German princes the Lower Palatinate was restored to the eldest son of the Elector Frederick, Charles Lewis, whose brothers Rupert and Maurice had devoted themselves to the cause of their uncle, Charles I., in England. The Upper Palatinate remained with Bavaria, which also retained its electoral dignity. Brandenburg received a considerable extension of territory, Switzerland was formally separated from the Empire, and Holland was recognised as an independent state. Sweden by obtaining a large share of Pomerania secured her supremacy on the Baltic; to France was ceded the Austrian territory in Alsace as well as Metz and Verdun. The war had consolidated the whole of the direct dominions of the Austrian Hapsburg under the rule of the head of that house; Teutonic Austria, Slavonic Bohemia, and Magyar Hungary, so much of it as was not under Turkish rule, were swayed by a single ruler, who not only wore the Imperial crown

1642-60. Mazarin.

1648. Peace of Westphalia.

but was individually the greatest potentate among the princes of the Empire. But the war had destroyed all possibility of the unification of the Empire itself.

The Peace of Westphalia, however, completed a few months before the king of England was beheaded and the Commonwealth established, did not terminate the prolonged struggle between France and Spain. Spain had lost Holland for ever, and Portugal was already breaking away from her, endeavouring—with ultimate success—to establish on its throne the house of Braganza, which Philip II. had been able to sweep aside in 1580 in spite of its superior legal claim. France had greatly strengthened her position in Europe, and possessed two brilliant commanders of very different types in Turenne and Condé. But France lost her opportunity for the time by falling into that series of civil wars known as the Fronde, pursued entirely out of personal ambitions and for the sake of personal interests. The result was that Spain drove the French out of Catalonia, where they had obtained a footing, while Condé and Turenne were fighting against each other or uniting against the government. But the temporary triumph of Condé collapsed in 1652, and by 1653 Mazarin had completely recovered the ascendency. The faction of anti-monarchical nobles was broken up, and the Crown at last was supreme without dispute.

1648-53. France and Spain.

Mazarin again turned to the war with Spain, which now enjoyed the advantage of having Condé to lead her armies in the Spanish Netherlands, the main seat of the war. Both Spain and France, however, were too much exhausted to carry on the struggle with real vigour, and each was more than willing to obtain the aid of Cromwell and the regicide republic. Cromwell came to the conclusion that, though the Huguenot Condé was in alliance with the Spaniards, Spain was still the enemy of Protestantism, and that the cause which he had most at heart would be furthered by the French alliance. An English contingent joined Turenne in the Netherlands, and decisively turned the scale in favour of France, England being placed in possession of Dunkirk. The death of the Protector in

1658-9. End of the war.

1658 left Mazarin free to negotiate the peace of which both France and Spain were in need, with scant attention to English interests. The Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 was a decisive triumph for France. Spain ceded to her several fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands and all her claims in Alsace. In the south the Pyrenees became definitely the boundary between the two countries. Lorraine was restored to its duke upon terms which gave France military security in that quarter. France undertook to give no further aid to the Portuguese and the house of Braganza in their struggle to shake off the Spanish yoke; but the empty promise was all that Spain gained. Finally, a marriage was negotiated, pregnant with large results forty years afterwards, between King Louis and the elder Spanish princess, Maria Teresa, who renounced her claims to the succession on condition of the payment by Spain of a dowry, which in actual fact never was paid. Her younger sister, it may be remarked, was married to Leopold of Austria, who had succeeded Ferdinand III. as emperor in 1657. Early in 1661 Mazarin died, and the real Age of Louis XIV. began, at the moment when his cousin, Charles II., was securely established on the throne of England.

1659. The Peace of the Pyrenees.

CHAPTER X. JAMES I. AND VI., 1603-1625

I. The King and the Kingdoms

No voice was raised to dispute the succession of the king of Scots to the throne of England. Within a fortnight of Elizabeth's death he had started on his progress from the north through the two kingdoms, now at last united under one crown. In fact, the only other candidate with a plausible title as against that of James was Lord Beauchamp, the son of Katharine Grey and Lord Hertford, who stood first under the will of Henry VIII., the instrument which had decided the succession first of Mary and then of Elizabeth. There was no party which had definitely taken up his candidature, or that of the next in succession after James, Arabella Stuart, the representative of the Lennox descendants of Margaret Tudor; in whose favour there was nothing, except the fact that she was an English subject, whereas James was an alien.

Accession of James I.

The Union of the Crowns was not a union of the kingdoms, but it made hostilities between them impossible, except on the hypothesis that one or other was in rebellion against the lawful sovereign of both. No war could be declared and no treaty signed with a foreign power which separated the two countries. It was no longer possible for Scotland to be in alliance with France against England. But the government, the laws, the institutions—political, ecclesiastical, and social—of each remained unaltered; the only legal change created, as declared by the English judges, was that a Scot born after the Union was *ipso facto* a natural English subject when on English soil, possessing the same legal rights as an Englishman.

The Union of the Crowns.

But another change had been wrought which was of grave importance. It was the plain fact that the Union placed an

alien dynasty on the English throne; a dynasty which had its own tradition of the relations between the Crown and the people, of the rights and privileges of royalty; a dynasty which had no experience of a parliament possessed of such constitutional powers as that of England. For four hundred years every king or queen-regnant of England had been bred in England; the political institutions familiar to them, one and all, had been those of England. The political institutions known to James I. were those of Scotland. And, as it happened, James I. was in the somewhat unusual position for an English monarch of being absolutely without question the legitimate representative of the oldest royal family in Europe, the Wessex kings of all England. It was possible for him to assert a theory of Divine Right, which had not been possible for any monarch whose title rested in any degree upon parliamentary sanction. During two hundred years past the same could have been said of only four kings, Edward IV., Edward V., Henry VIII., and Edward VI. It was something of a paradox that the abstract theory of Divine Right was first obtruded into English politics by a Scottish king, whose great-grandmother was an English princess, herself the daughter of a king whose hereditary title to the English throne was almost worthless.

The new dynasty.

James had been a king the whole of his life except for the first few months. Half his reign in Scotland he had passed under an exceedingly galling tutelage, and the other half he had spent in manœuvring, with a very large measure of success, to acquire for the Crown a preponderant power in the State, a power which in 1603 was actually greater than that of any of his predecessors since Robert Bruce. The 'kingcraft' on which he prided himself had enabled him to throw off the shackles which the theocratic preachers had endeavoured to impose upon 'God's silly vassal' by ranging the magnates against them; he had made considerable progress in establishing a royal control over the Church; and he had got rid of the most dangerous elements among the magnates themselves. But there was this essential difference between his two kingdoms, that in Scotland the government had always been

Constitutional contrast between the kingdoms.

arbitrary, whatever the faction that had controlled it. The parliament was not an assembly even approximately representing popular feeling or capable of giving effect to popular feeling by control of supplies; the one representative body was the General Assembly of the Church, which had no actually political authority. Every magnate was possessed of a hereditary jurisdiction upon his own domains, which carried with it extensive arbitrary powers. In England, on the other hand, the conception of the supremacy of the law had been predominant for centuries; the principle had been laid down in Magna Carta, and maintained ever since, that all, from the highest to the lowest, must act in accordance with law; and no monarch had ever ventured to claim for himself an authority overriding the law. Even the most absolute of the Tudors had claimed no arbitrary powers without being able at least to plead that they were such as had been explicitly or implicitly sanctioned by parliament and recognised by the law of the land. In other words, the Tudors had always worked under constitutional forms, quite incompatible with the Stuart doctrine that the king occupied the throne by Divine Right and governed as God's vicegerent, all subordinate powers in the kingdom drawing their authority from the king's grace.

The Tudor authority.

Thus the Stuarts claimed for the Crown a theoretical authority which had not been asserted by the Tudors. On the other hand, the Tudors had been allowed or had exercised a degree of practical power by assent, which Englishmen in general were not disposed to concede to the new dynasty. The urgent need for national solidarity down to the rout of the Armada, popular enthusiasm for a triumphantly successful policy, the sentiment of personal loyalty to the queen in her latter years, had restrained the people from acting upon the growing feeling that it was time to assert the rights of parliament. Prolonged accord between Crown and Parliament had allowed the question of their relative powers to become one of theory rather than of practice. The accord was already breaking down before the death of Elizabeth, and the question was assuming a practical character. The grounds on which a constitutional

contest had been postponed lost their validity with the death of the old queen and the accession of a new dynasty imported from a country where parliamentary institutions were undeveloped; and accordingly the whole period from the accession of James I. to the flight of James II. presents us with various phases of the struggle to decide whether the supreme power should repose in the Crown or in Parliament. The controversy appears to turn upon what is denounced as the 'sordid' question of taxation, for the simple reason that the possession of the power of the purse was the decisive factor. If the Crown could raise money sufficient for its needs without consent of parliament, it could go its own way and enforce its own will in defiance of the popular will. If it depended for necessary supplies upon the vote of parliament, parliament could always make those supplies conditional upon the removal of grievances and upon the spending of the money upon objects of which it approved.

The struggle under the Stuarts.

Two significant events occurred during the new king's progress through the north. He ordered a pickpocket caught in the act to be hanged incontinently without trial, and was much surprised by the objections raised. At another stage of the journey he was presented with what is known as the Millenary Petition because it was supposed to have been signed by a thousand of the clergy, a petition for the relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws in favour of Nonconformist views. Its presentation emphasised the wide prevalence of Nonconformity within the Church, and the expectation of the Nonconformists that the accession of the Scots king would be followed by measures favourable to the religious school which was in harmony with the religion of the Scots. The general acquiescence in the accession of James was the outcome of the belief of every religious party that its own interests would be thereby advanced. Romanists knew that King James in Scotland had coquetted with the Papacy, and hoped at least that the penal laws would be relaxed. Nonconformists knew that he had been brought up among Presbyterian Calvinists, and anticipated that he would be favourable to their ideas.

Expectations of the religious groups.

Orthodox Anglicans had noted his reintroduction of bishops in the northern country. Catholics and Nonconformists alike were to be grievously disappointed, for even Henry VIII. had not been prouder of his own theological abilities than James. As a theologian James was committed to Protestantism, while as a politician he abominated Presbyterianism, and as a politician he would have nothing to say to the recognition of papal authority within his dominions.

Puritanism is a term which is used with varying connotations. Sometimes it is meant to imply little more than the adoption of a rigid moral standard, especially in respect of 'carnal' enjoyments. Sometimes it is directly associated with the rejection of Episcopacy. Both are normal manifestations of the Puritan spirit, but it is the spirit not the manifestations to which the term ought properly to be appropriated. It is, in fact, the essential spirit of Protestantism in its most undiluted form. At bottom, Protestantism is the sense of personal responsibility, and the personal demand for liberty in matters of religion, arising from the consciousness of a direct personal relation between the individual and his Maker. Rejecting the intervention of any human mediation, whether of saints in heaven or of priests on earth, it provides the individual with no other authority than that of his reason, his conscience, and the Scriptures, which it recognises as the inspired Word of God. All other authority, being accounted fallible, may lawfully be rejected. But while Protestantism may also lawfully submit itself to the guidance of such other authorities, though recognising them as fallible, Puritanism, the more intense form of Protestantism, looks askance upon all such authorities, regarding them with suspicion, and dwelling constantly upon the personal relation and the personal interpretation of Scripture. Logically, Puritanism should carry with it the recognition of the right of each individual to obey the inward monitor and his own interpretation of Scripture; actually, it was exceedingly apt to establish in the individual a conviction of his own infallibility, and of the errors of all those who differed from him, whereby the religion which ought to have been completely tolerant was

Puritanism.

rendered completely intolerant; still the broad fact remains that it was a government based upon Puritanism which first insisted in principle upon the toleration of all forms of religion which were not politically obnoxious.

Puritanism and the Church.

Puritanism, then, being primarily a personal revolt against any external authority in matters of religion, accounted the Roman Church as the enemy *par excellence*, because Rome claimed an infallible authority. It followed that Puritanism was hostile to anything which savoured of Roman doctrine, all dogmas, all ceremonial observances, for which no direct and manifest warrant could be found in Scripture. Commonly, though not necessarily, the Puritan mind regarded the episcopal organisation of the Church as a product of Rome; not primitive, and therefore objectionable; but not anti-scriptural and therefore permissible. It took a similar view of many of the forms and ceremonies retained by the Anglican Church. Hence Nonconformity involved not Separatism, but a demand, at least, for the admission of an ample latitude in setting aside such practices; and it commonly carried with it a strong preference for the Presbyterian over the Episcopalian form of Church government. In short, it was in the nature of the case that Puritanism tended to the adoption of Calvinism in every one of its aspects—its system of theology, its views of ceremonial, its insistence on moral censorship, and its methods of organisation. But in this last aspect it was absolutely antagonistic to a monarchical Erastianism and to all episcopal tradition. And although the most prominent of the dogmas of Calvinism, its doctrine of Predestination, was at this date accepted by the great majority of clergy and bishops, the reverence for tradition which was bound up with the episcopal system necessarily inclined the higher clergy and the Crown to oppose its demand for the rejection of traditional observances.

Puritanism, not as yet developed into the Presbyterianism which was the special aversion of the king and the bishops, had taken a strong hold not only in the towns, but also among many of the gentry, especially in the south and east. How much of actual Romanism survived it is extremely difficult to say, but the

strongholds of the old faith were in the rural districts of the north, and the western midlands. Undoubtedly there were large numbers of 'crypto-Catholics,' men who would have welcomed a return to the position of the Church under Henry VIII., but preferred conformity to the inconveniences to which they would have been subjected, under the penal laws, by an open adherence to Romanism. The rigour with which the penal laws were enforced and the fines for recusancy exacted depended very much upon local feeling; but the laws were on the Statute Book, and the pressure of circumstances might at any moment cause them to be applied in their full severity. But while Romanists were anxious enough to be relieved from this burden, there was only a remnant which would have sought release at the price of the political subjection of the nation to any foreign power. The secular clergy of the Church of Rome in England, and the great bulk of the laity, would have been satisfied with toleration; but Jesuit zeal, misapprehending the situation, aimed at nothing short of a complete Romanist restoration; consequently there was sharp discord between the two schools, while the popular Protestantism tarred all the Catholics with the Jesuit brush, and set its face against any relaxation of the penal laws.

The Romanists.

Thus we may summarise the situation on the accession of James I. James came to England determined to exercise a benevolent despotism on lines directed by his own superlative wisdom; whereas English parliaments were resolved to reassert the authority which had been apparently dormant under the Tudors, only because the Tudors had taken care to preserve a sufficient accord with popular feeling. The king was particularly determined to maintain the royal control over matters ecclesiastical, and the episcopal system with which that royal control was bound up. The Protestantism of the country was growing increasingly Puritan and insistent upon the recognition of Puritan ideas, with some leanings towards Presbyterianism; and Protestantism was in complete possession of the House of Commons. Puritanism was intolerant of Romanism, which in the eyes of James was

The situation summarised.

less dangerous to the monarchical authority than Puritanism itself. Finally, the great mass of the Catholics were ready to be whole-hearted loyalists if they could obtain religious toleration for themselves; but among Protestants at least there was a rooted conviction that toleration would be employed by them as a means to renewed aggression and the recovery of ascendency. And at the moment of the Scots king's arrival in England both Puritans and Catholics were in high hope of the approaching victory of their own cause.

II. Robert Cecil, 1603–1612

Before James had been in England a year the hopes both of Puritans and Catholics were thoroughly dashed. The new king had used expressions before his arrival which certainly warranted the Romanists in the expectation that the penal laws would be relaxed. But though from the very outset James had demonstrated the novelty of his conceptions of the royal authority, he had no intention of consciously introducing sudden changes. Robert Cecil had secured his ear, and Cecil was conservative. The fines for recusancy were exacted with a considerable laxity, and did not contribute very largely to the revenue, still the treasury could not readily afford to dispense with them. They were not suspended; and a futile plot was in consequence concocted to seize the person of the king and extract from him satisfactory concessions. It was the invention of a secular priest named Watson; it came to the knowledge of the Jesuits, who perceived its futility and saw an opportunity of gaining the ear of the king at the expense of their secular rivals. The plot was disclosed to the Privy Council, and its very miscellaneous ringleaders, among whom there were Puritans as well as Catholics, were arrested.

1603. **The Bye Plot.**

Almost simultaneous with the discovery of the Bye Plot, as Watson's conspiracy was called, was the discovery of the Main Plot, an equally futile affair, which had for its object the deposition of James and the elevation of his cousin Arabella Stuart to the throne. This was the work of Lord Cobham, brother of

one of the conspirators of the Bye Plot. Its importance lay entirely in the fact that Cobham charged Sir Walter Raleigh with being his accomplice. Raleigh was the one man whose abilities Cecil had feared since the destruction of Essex. He was intensely unpopular, except with the English seamen; he was the most vehement advocate, not merely of war with Spain, but of the total destruction of her power. He had never been in any sense a champion of the Stuart succession. These were all reasons which made it comparatively easy to procure his downfall, since James was an advocate not of war but of peace. Raleigh was deprived of one after another of the offices and privileges which he enjoyed at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and there was reason enough to suspect him of hostility to the new régime. But the charge now brought against him involved the theory that he was trafficking with Spain for the deposition of James. If Raleigh had had any inclination towards treason he was still the last man to seek, or to obtain the alliance of the Spaniard; apart from all other considerations, he was too thoroughly alive to the truth of the maxim, that a traitor is never trusted by those who have profited by his treachery. The only evidence against him was that of Cobham, who contradicted himself. The conduct of Raleigh's trial was so infamous that his condemnation completely turned the tide of public feeling in his favour, and he became a popular hero. James, however, was content to spare his life and shut him up in the Tower for twelve years, at the end of which he was released, only to be offered as a sacrifice to the Spanish ambassador.

Raleigh and the Main Plot.

For a moment it seemed as if the Jesuits had turned the Bye Plot to more effective purpose than its unfortunate projector. Their revelation of the conspiracy was rewarded by a suspension of the fines for recusancy. The Catholics took advantage of the apparently changed position with injudicious haste. Catholic services were openly held, and Catholics who had been in the habit of attending the Anglican services ceased to do so. Catholic priests returned to England, and rumour declared that conversions to Rome were

1604. Repression of Romanists.

proceeding apace. The Protestants and James himself took alarm; he had no desire to multiply the number of his Romanist subjects. In the spring of 1604 he proclaimed the expulsion of all Catholic priests from the country. By midsummer he had gratified the Commons by procuring an act which rather increased the stringency of the penal laws.

Meanwhile Puritanism fared very little better. James responded to the Millenary Petition by calling the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604. But it was not a conference between equals. The petitioners were allowed four representatives to state their case before what was practically a court consisting of the archbishop, eight bishops, and seven others of the clergy, presided over by the king in person. The royal president joined in the discussions, and gave point after point against the Puritans. Finally, the Puritan leader, Dean Reynolds, brought in the words 'synod' and 'presbyter,' painfully familiar to James in connection with Scottish Presbyterianism; whereupon he lost his temper, declared that a Scottish presbytery 'agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil,' and announced that if this was all Reynolds and his party had to say he would 'make them conform themselves or would harry them out of the land.' One thing only of all that the Puritans had asked was conceded. The preparation of what has ever since been known as the Authorised Version of the Scriptures was sanctioned. James had destroyed with a word all hopes of expanding the comprehensiveness of the established Church.

The Hampton Court Conference.

Parliament had its turn as well as Catholics and Puritans, but with a different result. Sir Francis Goodwin was returned as member for Buckinghamshire. Goodwin was an outlaw; the election was pronounced void by the Court of Chancery, and another member was elected. The House of Commons refused to admit the jurisdiction of the court, claimed to be itself the sole judge of election questions, and declared that Goodwin was duly elected. The king averred that the privileges of the House were enjoyed by the king's grace, and should not be used against the Crown. The House

Goodwin's case.

replied that the king had been misinformed on that head, and refused to yield, though it readily passed a bill making outlaws ineligible for the future. As a practical compromise on the immediate question, Goodwin and his rival both retired, and a fresh election was held; but the principle was definitely established that the House of Commons alone could deal with election petitions.

Other questions were also agitated, questions of the commutation of feudal dues for a fixed annual revenue, and questions connected with the Millenary Petition in which the House showed its sympathy for Puritan conventions; the question also of a closer union with Scotland in accordance with the king's own desire. At the time there was no practical outcome. But the most remarkable product of the session of 1604 was the setting forth of an apology or defence of their conduct by the Commons, in which they claimed that the privileges of the House were theirs not of grace but of right, denied that the Crown had any power to alter religion or to legislate concerning religion except by consent of parliament, and defended their right to petition against the usages which were felt as grievances. The apology was not actually presented to the king, but remains as a record of the ground on which they intended to take their stand.

1604. Parliament asserts itself.

Parliament was prorogued soon after midsummer. Whitgift was dead, and the leader of the High Ecclesiastical party was Bancroft, Bishop of London, who was about to succeed Whitgift at Canterbury. Convocation paid no attention to the views expressed in parliament, and passed canons in confirmation of the position taken up at the Hampton Court Conference. The clergy were required to declare formally that there was nothing in the prayer-book or in the ceremonies which it enjoined, or in the episcopal form of Church government, contrary to Scripture. The result was that several of the more zealous Puritans among the clergy, numbering probably about three hundred, refused subscription and resigned their livings. Dissent was born in an atmosphere of martyrdom.

Convocation.

The year was marked by one other event of significance. The

war with Spain was still lingering on in the form of English privateering expeditions directed upon the Spanish trade routes.

Peace with Spain.

The United Provinces, under the leadership of Maurice of Nassau, were proving more and more conclusively that they could not be subdued, and that they had passed Spaniards and Portuguese in the race for maritime power. But even Raleigh had failed to carry the country with him in his designs for a concentrated attack upon the Spanish Empire; the ordinary Englishman had failed to rise above the conception of capturing Spanish galleons and looting treasure ships. The minister now dominant with Philip III., Lerma, was not a slave to Philip II.'s idea of irreconcilable hostility to all heretics. Spain was ready for peace; James hated war and regarded himself as the apostle of reason. He could see in religious differences nothing to prevent a reconciliation. His whole reign was a demonstration of his conviction that the lion and the lamb could lie down comfortably together. In 1604 England and Spain made peace. The Spaniards agreed that English sailors should not be molested in their ports on account of their religion unless they flaunted it aggressively. England agreed to give no official support to the Dutch, but refused to prohibit volunteers from joining their armies. No agreement was arrived at with regard to English trading to the East and West Indies; Spain held to her theory that all such trading was unlawful, England held to hers that it was lawful, and the traders were left to fight their own battles. Diplomatic relations between the two courts were resumed, and the first negotiations were soon set on foot for a marriage between the royal families.

James was always unable to realise the fundamental rigidity of the attitude of Spain on the religious question, while the

Recusancy Laws intensified.

Spaniards never got rid of their fixed belief that nothing more was necessary for the suppression of heresy in England than a Catholic ascendency at court. James was much annoyed by the impossible Spanish proposal, which Spaniards regarded as a matter of course, that as a condition of the projected marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Anne, who at this moment was actually

heir-presumptive to the Spanish throne, the prince should be educated in Spain as a Catholic. The king looked upon the penal laws only as an instrument to be used against Catholics in case of necessity, and the authorities were generally inclined to apply them with much more severity than the king himself. But his hand was forced by the aggressive character of the Spanish proposals, and in 1605 the persecution became more severe.

The first blow to the hopes of the Catholics in 1604 had already sufficed to inspire some half-dozen extreme zealots with the desperate resolve to effect a revolution by an altogether unprecedented method—the Gunpowder Plot for blowing up the king and the Prince of Wales, the Lords and the representatives of the commons of England, in one terrific holocaust. In the utter administrative chaos that would necessarily ensue, the Catholics were to seize the government and restore the true faith. The condition of success was that the plot should be carried out at the reopening of the parliament which was prorogued in the summer of 1604. The plot was formulated as early as May 1604. The conspirators were to occupy a building adjoining the Houses of Parliament, to run a mine under the Houses from its cellars, fill the mine with gunpowder, and explode it when king, Lords, and Commons were all assembled for the opening ceremony. The meeting of parliament was to have taken place in February 1605, but was adjourned till October. The secret was kept month after month, though the number of the conspirators was gradually increased; the actual execution of the plot was entrusted to a soldier of tried courage, Guido Fawkes.

1604. Gunpowder Plot.

One of the conspirators, Sir Everard Digby, the owner of great estates in Warwickshire, was to hold a great hunting on the fatal day, inviting to it as many as possible of the Catholic gentry, who were numerous in the western shires. The hunting was to be transformed into a call to arms, the success of which would be ensured by the news of the explosion at Westminster. The desired house was secured, and, by a stroke of fortune, the cellars of another house which

1605. The plot thickens.

actually extended under the Houses of Parliament. There is no evidence that Jesuits were in the full sense of the term conspirators, but a Jesuit, Father Gerard, the same who had betrayed Watson's plot to the Privy Council, was cognisant of the existence of a plot and many of the persons involved in it; and Garnet, the 'provincial' of the Jesuits, the head of the Order in England, when also cognisant of the plot, was informed of the details under the seal of confession—as it appears, by his own desire.

But again when the time drew near, the opening of parliament was postponed to 5th November. Unfortunately for the conspiracy, one of the conspirators, Francis Tresham, lacked the necessary nerve. He determined to save his kinsman, Lord Monteagle, from the general destruction, and wrote him a letter warning him to be absent from the opening of parliament, 'which shall receive a terrible blow, and yet they shall not see who hurts them.' Monteagle carried the letter to Cecil, who had recently been created Earl of Salisbury; but he must have known more of the matter than was conveyed in the letter, which gave no hint of the identity of the writer, for the conspirators at the same time received warning, not from Tresham, that the plot was discovered. There was time for them to escape, but they remained incredulous and held to their project. Salisbury and the king smelt gunpowder. On the night of 4th November, the eve of the assembling of parliament, the cellars were searched; Guy Fawkes was found at his post among the barrels of gunpowder, and was dragged away to prison after a desperate resistance. Before dawn the rest of the conspirators in London were in full flight. On the third night they were hunted down and were all taken or slain. When all concealment had become useless, a full confession was extracted by torture from Guy Fawkes, and the survivors were duly executed. Father Gerard escaped; Garnet, who had fled into hiding, was subsequently captured and put to death.

November. Discovery.

The importance of the Gunpowder Plot lies in the effect which it produced upon the public mind. It must be taken as proved that it was a genuine plot concocted from first to last by honest

zealots who persuaded themselves that they were the instruments of a holy cause. There is no sufficient ground for supposing that Salisbury played in it a part like that of Walsingham in Babington's plot; he was not friendly to the Catholics, but he had no fierce animus against them, and no political end to serve by making them objects of an exaggerated popular detestation. But the effect of the whole affair on the popular mind was to create an undiscriminating passion of resentment against Catholics, which for a century to come was easily roused into panic, and smouldered on for even another century. It forced the government to an immediate severity which was not in the least warranted by the general attitude of the Catholics, and gave an undeservedly sinister aspect to the tolerant inclinations of James, and still more of Charles I. In the reign of Elizabeth, Papalism was a serious political danger; under the Stuarts, Popery was a portentous and irrational bugbear; and it was the Gunpowder Plot which gave it that character. The manifest imaginative extravagance of the popular feeling even tends, with a later generation, to obscure the substantial fact that it was a true instinct which looked upon Romanism in the seventeenth century as a force emphatically hostile to political freedom.

Effect of the Plot.

Naturally enough a vindictive alarm was displayed by the legislators who had been the destined victims of the conspiracy. The fines for recusancy were increased, proselytism was penalised as high treason; recusants were banished from the court and from London, excluded from the learned professions, and forbidden to hold commissions as officers. Having for the time being no quarrel with James, the Commons made a quite liberal though wholly inadequate grant to meet the yearly increasing excess of expenditure over income. Nevertheless, they declined to meet the king's desire to advance unification with Scotland. The Southron looked with unfavourable eyes on the large number of Scots who had swarmed into the richer country, and were 'spoiling the Egyptians' after a fashion of their own. Practically nothing had been done when the Houses were prorogued in 1607, although in that year a

1606-7. Parliament.

decision of the judges established the principle that all Scots born after James's accession were natural English subjects.

Meanwhile, however, another question of grave import had come before the king's judges. There was no doubt about the general principle that the king could not without the consent of parliament lay new taxes upon his subjects, and levy from them contributions to the revenue other than those established by ancient custom. Still the Tudor queens had been permitted without protest to make some additions to the 'book of rates,' the customs charges upon imported goods. James also made some further impositions. No protest was offered in parliament; but a merchant named Bate refused to pay the new duties, the question was brought before the Court of Exchequer in 1606, and the court decided against him. The judgment attracted no great attention at the moment, although the grounds upon which it was rested implied, first, that the king had absolute control of the ports, and could make what charges he liked for the passage through them of persons or of goods; and, secondly, that the king could impose at his discretion charges which were for the good of the realm. In effect the judges claimed as belonging to the royal prerogative the right of levying any charges he chose, on the plea that those particular charges were for the public good. The judgment stood unchallenged when parliament was prorogued.

Bate's case.

The Houses were not summoned again in the following year, but Salisbury, who at this stage became Treasurer, issued a new book of rates estimated to increase the revenue by some £70,000 per annum. A rigorous economy reduced the existing deficit; but the term of the recent parliamentary grant was running out, and it was obvious that without fresh grants in 1610 expenditure would again exceed revenue. Parliament was again assembled in February 1610.

1608. The new book of rates.

Meanwhile grievances had been accumulating. The Ecclesiastical Courts and the Court of the Council of Wales had been seeking to extend their jurisdiction so as to encroach upon that of the common law courts. The new book of rates had at-

tracted the attention which the judgment in Bate's case had at first escaped. The king, not without precedent in Tudor times, had been by proclamation adding to the number of offences punishable at law. The Commons wanted grievances dealt with as a preliminary to supply. Salisbury wanted a grant for immediate necessities, and the permanent provision of an additional revenue of £200,000. The Commons began by proposing a commutation of the irritating feudal dues as the first step. The king wanted to make the commutation conditional upon the grant of the extra revenue for which Salisbury was asking. The Commons declined the bargain.

1610. Grievances and supply.

The question of the impositions was then raised in the House. Bacon and others maintained the technical rights of the Crown. A compromise was attempted in the form of a bill ratifying the impositions, but forbidding their further extension. The bill was thrown out by the Lords, and the whole question was left unsettled. But it is to be observed that until the judgment in Bate's case should be reversed either in the courts, or by an actual statute, the Crown was technically entitled to claim that the law was on its side, not on that of the Commons.

The impositions.

Neither king nor parliament wanted an open quarrel, and before the prorogation it seemed probable that a compromise would be reached on the question of the feudal dues by their commutation for double the sum previously proposed. Unfortunately, when the Houses reassembled three months later both sides were beginning to repent of the bargain. The king raised his price, the Commons refused his terms, the Great Contract, as the negotiation was called, was blocked, and the settlement of the question of the feudal dues was postponed for fifty years, much to Salisbury's annoyance. The king offered some redress of grievances in return for a grant, the Commons rejected his offer as insufficient, and the first parliament of the reign was dissolved in February 1611.

The Great Contract.

A month before the dissolution Bancroft was succeeded at Canterbury by Abbot, a prelate who in matters of doctrine and

ritual was disposed to sympathise with the Puritans. While his influence remained dominant, the latitude allowed to that party within the Church prevented the religious question from becoming acute. The death of Salisbury a year later left James entirely to the control of favourites wholly devoid of statesmanship, although some years elapsed before it could be said that any one but James himself was responsible for the direction of policy. The gravest of James's disqualifications as a king were his incapacity for judging men, and that confidence in his own supreme wisdom which made him particularly unsusceptible to the advice of a far shrewder statesman than Salisbury, Francis Bacon.

1612. Death of Salisbury

III. Gondomar and Buckingham, 1613-1625

During the years when Robert Cecil stood beside the king and unostentatiously managed his master, England had followed in foreign affairs a line which Elizabeth and Burghley might not have disapproved. Neither the queen nor her great minister had ever wished to destroy the Spanish power: neither had wished France to attain the first place among the European powers, a consequence which would have followed upon the excessive humiliation of Spain, coupled with the religious pacification of her neighbour. Elizabeth at least had only given to the United Provinces that minimum of support which she thought necessary to avert such a decisive Spanish victory as would have set that power free to concentrate all its energies on her own overthrow. At the same time, Elizabeth and Burghley had never yielded a fraction to Spanish threats, and had made it their unvarying aim to foil Philip's aggressive ambitions. The need for such active, if occasionally veiled, hostility to Spain had passed before Philip and Burghley were actually in their graves; the official hostility had survived chiefly because Philip III. had for a time attempted to maintain his father's policy, and also because a relaxation of official hostility would have defeated its own purpose by

England and Spain under Elizabeth.

leaving the field clear for the school of extreme aggression headed by Raleigh.

By 1604, however, Robert Cecil could support the king's advocacy of peace without any such danger; the war fever in the nation had died down, and no one was seriously afraid of conspiracies in England with the Spanish power behind them. No one suspected Spanish machinations at the bottom of the Gunpowder Plot. On the other hand, the government showed no subserviency to Spain; there was nothing bordering on the ignominious about the treaty of 1604; if Salisbury declined to be seduced into attaching himself too closely to Henry IV., English influences and English diplomacy told in favour of the Dutch in the treaty which ended the War of Independence, and counted in the scale against Catholic and Spanish aggression in Germany. It may fairly be claimed for Salisbury that under his guidance the foreign policy of England, King James, and the foreign policy of Queen Elizabeth herself displayed a reasonable continuity.

Salisbury's attitude.

King James was much better informed on continental affairs than most of his subjects; but he laboured under certain delusions which gave a singular futility to his activities during the second half of his reign. He persistently believed that Spain could be persuaded to lay aside her religious prejudices and to unite with England in bringing diplomatic pressure to bear upon Austrian Hapsburgs and others for what he himself looked upon as the rational adjustment of differences. Also he believed that diplomatic pressure was capable of producing adequate results, even when there was a palpable absence of readiness to back it up by force of arms. And he overrated the effective power of Spain and the necessity of securing her favour. Hitherto no harm had come from these ideas.

The illusions of James.

Henry, Prince of Wales, a youth of brilliant promise, who had developed an intense admiration for the imprisoned Raleigh, entirely declined to fall in with the paternal designs for producing European concord by marrying him to a Roman Catholic. Unhappily Henry died of typhoid fever in 1612, and his brother Charles, who was then eleven, became

Marriage projects.

heir-apparent. James was able to revert to his idea of marrying the future king to a Catholic princess and bestowing the hand of his sister the Princess Elizabeth upon a Protestant prince. For the example of the House of Hapsburg appeared to show that matrimonial alliances were of the highest political importance, and that dynasties united by ties of blood would find in their kinship a sufficient inducement to harmonise differences. The idea of a Spanish marriage for Charles was soon being mooted; and in the meantime Elizabeth was married in 1613 to the youthful Elector Palatine, Frederick. Shortly after the marriage Spain sent to England as her ambassador the nobleman who is best known by the title Count of Gondomar, which was bestowed on him some years later; and Gondomar acquired an ascendency over the mind of James which the popular imagination exaggerated into a complete domination.

As the marriage of a daughter of Henry VII. in 1503 provided England with a new dynasty precisely a hundred years later, so the marriage of the daughter of James I. provided Great Britain with a new dynasty after precisely the same interval. But apart from that one event, nothing occurred for some time which materially affected the course of English history. Financial necessities again drove the king to summon a parliament in 1614. Had James taken the advice of Bacon and some others he would have frankly laid aside the claim to impositions, refused to haggle, and invited parliament to meet him in the same spirit of generous confidence. A Tudor would have found a way to do so without loss of dignity, and the Commons would have responded with liberality. James rejected the advice; and the Commons assembled with a determination to drive a hard bargain. The result was that no bargain was driven, no supplies were granted, and parliament was dissolved with nothing accomplished beyond some exacerbation of resentment on both sides. James was only able to raise a small sum by inviting a benevolence which the judges declared to be purely voluntary, and not capable of exaction at all. This assembly which sat for only a couple of

1614. The Addled Parliament.

months was known as the Addled Parliament on account of its unproductiveness.

Of a more positive importance was the dismissal from office of the Lord Chief-Justice Coke, in consequence of his resolute insistence upon the duty of the judges to maintain the law even in derogation of the authority of the Crown. The occurrence illustrated one of the most serious grievances of the whole Stuart régime. The judges were the judges of the law, but the Crown was the judge of the judges, and they were liable to deprivation for giving a decision in opposition to the wishes of the Crown. Obviously it required a very singular degree of integrity and courage on their part to give an unbiased decision when the interests of the Crown were involved.

The Judges.

A painful incident in the annals of court scandal requires a brief notice, though it was of importance only as exemplifying the tone of the court. James was not subject to female influences, and his private morals appear to have been exemplary. But he had a grotesque susceptibility to masculine good looks which procured a preposterous influence for a young Scot named Robert Carr, who was made Viscount Rochester. Rochester and the young wife of the Earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's favourite, fell in love with each other. A case was concocted for procuring a divorce; Rochester married the lady, and was made Earl of Somerset. Sir Thomas Overbury, a friend of Somerset, dissuaded him from the marriage. He died opportunely, and the marriage took place. Presently, however, it was discovered that Overbury had died of poisoning, and the poisoning was the work of Lady Essex, Somerset himself being implicated. It is on the whole to James's credit that he made no attempt to shield the favourite and his wife, who were obliged to face public trial, and were imprisoned for several years, though their lives were spared.

Somerset.

With the setting of Somerset's star there arose another far more portentous. George Villiers, the younger son of a knight, youthful, handsome, and penniless, was introduced to the royal notice by Somerset's enemies just before Somerset's fall. He rose rapidly in the king's favour; by 1617 he had become

Buckingham.

Earl of Buckingham, the chief dispenser of court favour, and ominously intimate with the Prince of Wales, on whose career he was destined to have a disastrous influence.

The Somerset episode was discreditable to the times; the Raleigh episode by which it was almost immediately followed is a still more serious blot upon the memory of the king himself. In 1615 the recently renewed negotiations for a Spanish marriage were taking a turn not very satisfactory to the king. Counsellors like the Archbishop of Canterbury and Secretary Winwood, who retained the anti-Spanish sentiments of the earlier generation to which they belonged, were temporarily in the ascendent; and they procured the release from the Tower of the old adventurer who was the living incarnation of enmity to the Spanish power. He was to be allowed to head an expedition to Guiana in order to discover and take possession of a wonderful gold mine of which he had heard on his earlier voyage to the Orinoco. That an expedition captained by a man with Raleigh's traditions could possibly go to the Orinoco without colliding with Spaniards was incredible. It would have been a matter of course under Elizabeth that such an enterprise, undertaken with official permission, should receive its sanction on the express condition that there was to be no quarrelling with Spaniards; it would have been equally certain that the collision would take place, but that if the expedition itself proved unsuccessful the blame for the collision would be resolutely fixed upon the other party; while if it succeeded its leader would have no cause for regret. Raleigh took for granted that the old convention survived, that his cautionary instructions were a mere matter of form, and that he was intended to play the part of Drake in the previous reign. Other men knew that James was incapable of emulating the methods of his predecessor. Raleigh could only scrape together a very ill-conditioned company to go with him. By the time that he was on the high seas, if not before, James had reverted to the policy of the Spanish marriage. Gondomar was fully informed, and the Spaniards in America were duly prepared. The expedition was a complete failure; the collision

Raleigh.

1618. Raleigh's fate.

took place, disastrously; Raleigh realised that he had been betrayed, and returned to England to meet his doom. Gondomar demanded his head and got it; technical difficulties in the way were circumvented by carrying out the sentence of execution which had been passed upon him in 1604, that sentence never having been reversed, nor a formal pardon granted.

Raleigh had set sail in the autumn of 1617. He landed in England in 1618. In the interval Ferdinand had been first accepted by the Bohemian Estates, and then the revolt had been opened by the murder of his administrators at Prague. The position in Germany was obviously critical; and hence the extreme anxiety of James on the one hand to secure the support of Spain, and of Spain on the other to convince him that her support would be forthcoming on terms. So the Spaniards encouraged the idea of the marriage without committing themselves to anything, hoping to neutralise England, while their own support was to be given to Ferdinand; James flattered himself that he would carry Spain with him, and would himself assume in the counsels of Europe the position of the wise arbitrator whose pronouncements would be accepted on all hands as the voice of supreme wisdom. Unfortunately, although the would-be pacificator gave excellent advice to everybody, nobody paid any attention. Frederick, urged forward by his wife, accepted the crown of Bohemia, and defied Ferdinand. England sympathised, but the elector was obviously acting in defiance of international proprieties. In 1620 the Spaniards themselves were overrunning the Lower Palatinate from the Netherlands, and before the end of the year Frederick had met with his great disaster at the White Mountain, and the Upper Palatinate lay at the mercy of Bavaria.

1618-20. James, Spain and the Palatinate.

James, like most of the Protestant princes in Germany, refused to help his son-in-law in grasping at the crown of Bohemia; but he was extremely anxious to save him from the loss of the Palatinate. Nothing, however, could be done without money; and to get money he summoned a parliament, his third, which met in January 1621. A Council of

1621. Third parliament.

War had already been appointed to discuss the needs of the situation.

Parliament sympathised with the cause of Protestantism, but it felt very much in the dark. The Palatinate and Bohemia were a long way off; it did not want to vote supplies without seeing where it was going. If Protestantism was in danger, Spain must be the real enemy—and the king was negotiating a Spanish marriage and relaxing the administration of the recusancy laws in obedience to Gondomar. The Commons began by demands for the enforcement of the law and discussions of past infringements on the liberty of speech. The king asked for half a million, the Council of War having come to the conclusion that rather more than a million was wanted to make intervention in the Palatinate effective. The House voted two subsidies, a subsidy being something over £70,000. Then it went back to grievances, and the particular grievance upon which it fastened was that of monopolies.

At cross purposes.

The monopoly grievance had become acute in the last years of Elizabeth, when legislation on the subject had been evaded only by the queen's tact. Thus the royal prerogative had been saved, and James continued to use the power freely. The bestowal upon individuals of an exclusive right of producing and selling particular goods was extremely irritating, even where a plausible case could be made out for the particular grant. But the whole question was gravely prejudiced by the fact that the grants were in almost every case obtained by court favour and bestowed upon court protégés, the Villiers family deriving large profits from them, while the rights of the grantees were frequently enforced in a highly tyrannical manner. Investigation into the administration of the patents led to the impeachment of Sir Francis Mitchell and Sir Giles Mompesson—a form of procedure which had been in abeyance for a century and a half. Feeling ran so high that Buckingham himself, soon to be a duke, advised the cancellation of the patents. An Act was passed forbidding the granting of monopolies to individuals, inventors excepted.

Attack on monopolies.

Bacon as chancellor had enforced the monopolies with severity.

The inquiry led to a further inquiry into the alleged corruption of the courts, by a committee of the Commons. Before that committee a heavy indictment was brought against the chancellor himself, and the committee laid its report before the House of Lords. Further evidence was brought before the Lords. Bacon admitted the charges, was sentenced to permanent exclusion from all public offices, and was fined £40,000. In the technical sense there was no formal impeachment of the chancellor—that is to say, the Commons did not appear before the Lords as the accusers; but for practical purposes the proceedings revived the earlier practice, initiated at the end of the reign of Edward III., of parliament taking direct action against the ministers of the Crown. Impeachment became for a century the standing method of attacking ministerial abuses of power and abuses of the royal authority through ministers. As to the particular case of Francis Bacon, the attack appears to have been fully justified. It is hardly imputed to the chancellor that he actually permitted his decisions to be influenced by the presents which he received, nor is it denied that the practice of accepting presents from litigants was almost universal. But it is equally undeniable that, so long as the practice existed, it cannot but have been accompanied by a vast amount of corruption—that it had reached a stage at which it was imperatively incumbent upon the head of the legal profession to set his face rigorously against it. Bacon could only throw himself upon the mercy of his judges, and admitted the justice of his sentence without qualification. And a final justification of that sentence is to be found in the fact that no judge since Bacon's day has been charged with receiving bribes.

Bacon disgraced.

These grave matters absorbed the attention of parliament. On its assembling, the king had announced it to be his intention to negotiate a satisfactory peace, while preparing for war in case of failure. Before spring was over James was urging the imperative need of largely increased supplies if his diplomacy was to have any chance of effect. Before the summer adjournment the Commons passed an enthusiastic resolution declaring their readiness to adventure

Parliament's views on war.

their lives and estates for the Protestant cause. But they would vote no supplies for the present. Undoubtedly the Commons were very little inclined to the policy of sending armies to fight in Germany, but were ready to take vigorous action against Spain. Nor was it unreasonable to argue that the best service they could render to the Protestant cause in Germany was to paralyse the power whose troops were overrunning the Lower Palatinate. This, however, hardly accorded with the king's notion of winning over Spain to support him in recommending the restoration of the Palatinate to the elector.

Disagreements.

When the Commons met for the winter session the difference of attitude became apparent. Thomas Wentworth, who was presently to become a very important figure, urged the immediate necessity of direct intervention in the Palatinate; but the dominant party could see no enemy but Spain. It would only make a small and very inadequate grant; but it prepared a petition explicitly demanding the suppression of recusancy and the breaking off of negotiations for the Spanish marriage. James, being informed of this, administered a sharp rebuke to the House for meddling in matters which were too high for it. The Commons retorted with a petition emphatically asserting the right of free discussion. The king replied that the right was conceded by grace of the Crown, and would be preserved so long as they restricted themselves within proper bounds. The Commons repeated their protest, which was entered in their Journals. The House was adjourned, the king sent for the Journals, tore out the page recording the protestation, sent three of the members to the Tower, and dissolved the parliament in January 1622.

1622-3. The Spanish marriage project.

The practical result was that James could not possibly raise enough money to back his diplomacy by force of arms. The powers ignored him; the Spaniards continued to play with the marriage treaty, not without hopes that they could extort from the king concessions to the Catholics which might even make the marriage worth while. Philip III. was just dead, the incompetent Philip IV. was king, and Olivarez was his minister. A year after the dis-

solution of parliament there came from Spain a modified offer, which required that the Infanta should have the education of the royal children in her own hands till they were nine years old, and that the English Catholics should be allowed the free exercise of their rites. These were terms to which the king and the Prince of Wales were willing to accede.

But at this stage Buckingham and Charles devised and carried out an amazing scheme. The prince, accompanied by the favourite, was to assume the character of a chivalrous lover, ride in disguise to the land where his princess dwelt, and romantically woo and win her, and with her the Palatinate as a wedding present. The wandering knights duly made their way through France, arrived at Madrid, and were received with becoming gravity. The Spaniards for the moment suffered from the illusion that the devout lover could be easily persuaded himself to adopt the religion of his bride. But Charles never in his life wavered from his absolute loyalty to his creed. He was not to be persuaded. As a wooer he was a melancholy failure. Buckingham's arrogance and insolence enraged the Spanish grandees and the priests. Nevertheless, the Spaniards pressed for ever-increasing concessions, and still point after point was yielded by the prince. Matters went so far that, before leaving Spain, Charles had actually for himself accepted the Spanish demands. But he had got no promise with regard to the Palatinate, and he returned to England in a state of profound disgust, feeling that he had been tricked, and only wishing to be released from his bond. He persuaded the old king to refuse his assent without a definite promise for the restoration of the Palatinate. Philip was not unwilling to be provided with an excuse for breaking off the whole affair, and the entire scheme of the Spanish match melted into thin air. With it vanished all James's hopes of Spanish co-operation in his mediatorial schemes.

The visit to Madrid.

There was nothing for it but to prepare for war if the Palatinate was to be saved for James's son-in-law and for Protestantism. Once more parliament was summoned, in February 1624. The Commons met, ready, even eager, for war with Spain, but still

dubious about a war in the Palatinate. James, foiled in Spain, was anxious to seek alliance with France, where Richelieu and the policy of Henry IV. were superseding the queen-mother and the policy of papalism. The Prince of Wales should marry the sister of the French king instead of the sister of Philip IV. The Commons did not like the idea; they wanted the prince to marry a Protestant bride, while the king was comfortably convinced that France would make no inconvenient demands in favour of the English Catholics. Very limited supplies were voted. King and prince pledged themselves to make no promises in the sense feared. Both Charles and the favourite achieved unwonted popularity by their obvious animosity to Spain, and by taking the lead in attacking the treasurer, Cranfield—who had been made earl of Middlesex—because he sought to influence the king against war with Spain. Charges of corruption were brought against him; he was impeached and disgraced, not without a prophetic warning from the king to Charles and Buckingham that they had better leave impeachments alone. The Houses were adjourned, on the hypothesis that they should meet in winter, and should then grant additional supplies if the diplomatic developments so required.

1624. The fourth parliament.

Buckingham popular.

The programme was not carried out. Louis too, it appeared, would not permit his sister's marriage unless concessions were made to the English Catholics. In their desire for the alliance the king and Buckingham broke their word to the House of Commons, and conceded the French demands. They dared not face parliament. Nevertheless, in order to secure allies, Buckingham promised money right and left, and not only money, but an English force, which was to be commanded by Mansfeld in the Low Countries. Somehow a force of twelve thousand men was raked together. By the time the men had been carried over to Holland the money was exhausted. A bitter winter had set in, there was no commissariat, and no pay in the soldiers' pockets. In a few weeks three-fourths of them were dead or dying of disease and starvation. And even at that ominous hour the old king died (27th March 1625).

Disaster.

IV. Ireland and Scotland, and the First Colonies

The long Elizabethan struggle in Ireland was brought to a close by Tyrone's submission to Montjoy, almost at the moment of the old queen's death. Tyrone's last effort had proved that the English government, with all its shortcomings, was too strong to be overthrown. Montjoy was appointed lieutenant, but himself left Ireland, where his place was taken by Sir Arthur Chichester as deputy. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and Tyrone and Tyrconnel were both received at the court of King James. The government used its victory to abolish the old Celtic customs and laws outside the Pale as well as within it. The chiefs were induced to surrender their lands and receive them back under the English laws of tenure; and Chichester proposed to extend the Elizabethan system of plantations only by settling Englishmen and Scots upon the ecclesiastical lands which had been forfeited to the Crown. Although in the course of the last fifty years the great bulk of the population had not only remained attached to the Roman Church but had learnt a devotion to it unknown before the Reformation, priests were banished from Ireland as from England; and in Ireland, as in England, every one was ordered to attend English Church services, although the attempt to enforce the law was presently abandoned. The king's justices went on circuit in regions where they had never before been seen, with beneficial effect; but at the same time the consciousness of the Irish people that an alien law was being imposed upon them by an alien power, in complete disregard of their own traditions and sentiments, was intensified.

Ireland.

Chichester in Ireland.

Whether or not the Ulster chiefs had intended to remain loyal, they found their powers under the new régime greatly curtailed. In 1607 they fell under suspicion of treasonable designs, and before any blow was struck Tyrone took flight to the Continent, accompanied by Tyrconnel and by another of the Ulster magnates, Maguire of Fermanagh. Actual insurrection or open insubordination on the part of some other

The Ulster forfeitures.

chiefs led to their forcible suppression, and thus in 1608 estates covering some six counties in the north of Ireland were forfeited to the Crown. This opened the way for the great plantation of Ulster. In theory the land was to be granted out partly to Irishmen, partly to English and Scottish settlers; but, in fact, the best of it went to the two latter classes. It was intended entirely to separate the Irishry from the new settlers and to compel the residence of the latter, who were meant to form a sort of garrison. But, in fact, a good many of them were absentees, and large numbers of the Irish peasantry, instead of being removed into the Irish districts, remained on the soil as tenants under the new owners. Their complete separation from the new settlers was not effected, although Ulster acquired many of its distinctive characteristics from the new settlement, the immigrants being of a more progressive type than the natives. Thirty years later there were some sixty thousand Scots there. It was in connection with the Ulster plantation that James devised the new order of 'baronets,' bearing a hereditary title which gave them precedence over knights without raising them to the ranks of the peerage. The titles, at first limited in number, were conferred on persons, chiefly large landed proprietors in England, who paid a substantial sum nominally for the maintenance of troops for the defence of the plantation. Subsequently occasion was found, often with great injustice, for the forfeiture of estates in other parts of Ireland, which again intensified the feeling of the natives that they had been robbed for the benefit of alien masters.

1608. The plantation.

The order of baronets.

In Scotland the power of the Crown, already in 1603 greater than it had ever been before, was increased by the union with England. After the English analogy, the Scottish Privy Council, consisting of ministers chosen by the king, became the channel of administration. James's bishops had provided him with a bridle for the General Assembly of the Kirk, and every extension of the episcopate increased his control. The parliament or Estates had never been a powerful body; commonly they had been able to do little more than register the decrees of the government; and the

Scotland.

The Scots parliament.

regular practice was for parliaments to open proceedings by delegating their functions to an elected committee known as the Lords of the Articles. To this body, at this period, the spiritual estate elected the representatives of the barons, with whom were included the tenants-in-chief; the barons elected those of the spiritualty, and the burgesses elected their own representatives. The party dominant for the moment had always been able to control the selection of the Lords of the Articles; and now, as the spiritualty in parliament were practically all king's men, there was no difficulty in ensuring that the Lords of the Articles should be practically all king's men also. James was able to boast in 1607: 'I write and it is done; and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword.'

Kirk and barons.

In the old days the kings had been able to count upon the support of the ecclesiastical body in their differences with the great feudatories and with England. Now the ecclesiastical body, the Kirk, was antagonistic to the royal supremacy, but its power of making that antagonism effective was checked by the bishops, who were the king's creatures; and James had broken up the temporary alliance of the Reformation period between the Kirk and the barons to a great extent by the distribution of church lands among the latter, who, moreover, were not at all favourable to the sweeping claims of moral censorship set up by the ministers. The actual power of the feudatories also had been very greatly diminished, not only in the direct conflicts with the Crown, but by the struggles of factions against each other; and the union with England finally put an end to the old conditions, under which rebellious barons had been wont to look to intrigues with England as a means of strengthening their own hands.

The Border and the Highlands.

The essential features of the reign of James VI. in Scotland, after he became James I. in England, were the further extension of the royal authority in the Highlands, the pacification of the Border, and the steady encroachment of episcopacy upon the Presbyterian system. The pacification of the Border was the direct outcome of the Union. The state of war between English and Scottish borderers which

had encouraged the central governments to leave the Border chiefs a very large latitude of action, theoretically for self-defence, had necessitated a degree of independence, corresponding to that on the Welsh Marches before the conquest of Wales by Edward I. But this freedom from control could no longer be tolerated when one king reigned both in Scotland and in England. The suppression of the Highlands, on the other hand, was not intimately connected with the Union, except in so far as the Highland chiefs were thereby deprived of the chance of seeking English support. The most notable incidents therein were the destruction and dispersion of the clan Macgregor, and an anticipation of the plantation of Ulster by an attempt to plant Lowlanders in the island of Lewis, from which the M'Leods were expelled.

The Church: the king's policy.

The extension of the episcopacy demands some further attention. The success of James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland, as compared with the failure of his son, is to be accounted for by the fact that James cared only about the political aspect of the question. His object was to bring the organisation under his own control, not to impose upon his Scottish subjects doctrines and practices which they resented. He made war upon the pretensions of the Presbyterian ministry, not upon Calvinistic doctrines which were in general taught by his bishops; and thus he avoided arousing angry popular resentment. He was an episcopalian not because he regarded episcopacy as a Divine institution, but because it seemed to him necessary to the completeness of monarchical authority. He resolutely strove to acquire complete control over the General Assembly, but he attached no importance to the wearing of a surplice instead of a Geneva gown.

1604-10. Depression of the General Assembly.

The first point was to insist that the General Assembly should meet only when called by the Crown. An Assembly was to meet at Aberdeen in 1604. The king postponed it. In 1605 a small band of the ministers met at Aberdeen in defiance of the royal prohibition. Some of those who had assembled were summoned before the Privy Council. They denied the jurisdiction, whereupon

they were tried and condemned for treason, and some of them were imprisoned in 1606. In that year Andrew Melville and other leaders of the ministers were summoned to London, and were not permitted to return to Scotland. The Scots parliament passed an Act restoring to the Church, but specifically for the support of bishops, church lands which had been appropriated to the Crown. At the end of the year James propounded to a convention of ministers at Linlithgow a scheme which was to strengthen the Church against popery. The office of president or moderator of each presbytery was to be made permanent, the moderator being *ex officio* a representative of his presbytery at the synod; in their own presbyteries the bishops were to be *ex officio* moderators. A year later the same principle was applied to the synods; they were to have permanent or constant moderators, and every bishop was the 'constant moderator' of his own synod and its representative in the General Assembly.

In 1610 a General Assembly at Glasgow accepted these principles, acknowledged that no General Assembly should meet without the king's summons, and recognised the bishops as constant moderators of the synods— proceedings which were confirmed by parliament in 1612. Further, in 1610 the king brought three of the bishops up to London to receive consecration at the hands of English bishops, thereby conferring upon them the Apostolic Succession, which they were in like manner able to confer upon their brother bishops.

1610-12. Progress of episcopacy.

Between 1616 and 1618 matters were carried further. There was a General Assembly, at which the presidency was assumed by the archbishop of St. Andrews. It was there made quite obvious that the Assembly was to be converted into a body merely for confirming the king's will. Many of the members withdrew. A new Catechism and Liturgy were adopted. Next year James paid his one visit to Scotland after the Union, when he scandalised public sentiment by redecorations of the chapel at Holyrood which were regarded as idolatrous, and by Anglican innovations in the form of service, the introduction of surplices, choristers, and

1618. The limit attained.

kneeling to receive the Communion. Articles were promulgated requiring the adoption of this last practice, the observation of Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsuntide, and the admission under certain circumstances of private Communion and private Baptism. A General Assembly at St. Andrews protested against the Articles; but another Assembly, held at Perth in 1618, adopted them—not without reluctance on the part of the bishops, who, nevertheless, yielded to the king's wishes. James had reached in the Articles of Perth the limits of acquiescence, but he abstained from actually transgressing those limits.

Expansion overseas.

The death of Queen Elizabeth made James king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but on the day of his accession the three kingdoms did not possess among them a foot of soil outside the British Islands. Before the end of the reign English merchants had established in the Far East not indeed a territorial dominion but trading stations held by grace of native princes, and had planted on the North American continent the two colonies which formed the nucleus for the great expansion of the British race in the Far West.

Dutch and English in the Spice Islands.

Seven weeks after the East India Company received its charter, James Lancaster had already started on the first great voyage to the Spice Islands. Six months after King James's accession Lancaster's ships returned laden with rich cargoes, having obtained from the local sultans permission to trade with Sumatra and Java. The next voyagers, in 1604-5, found the Dutch already entering the field as their rivals. The Dutch, especially after they made their truce with Spain in 1609, sent to the islands fleets larger and more powerful than those of the English; and in 1623 the judicial murder of the English at Amboyna by the Dutch, and the complaisance of King James, gave the republic a practically complete mastery in the Archipelago. They did not, however,

India.

turn their attention with equal energy to the Indian Peninsula, the greater part of which acknowledged the sovereignty of the great Mughal, Jehan Gir. The Portuguese, once supreme in those waters, had lost their old power; the Mughal,

having no love for them, was not unwilling to encourage a European rival, and in 1612 the East India Company was allowed to set up what was called a 'factory' at Surat, on the west coast, the term factory meaning a trading emporium. A short time afterwards Jehan Gir received Sir Thomas Roe as an envoy from King James. Though there were no other immediate results, the embassy tended to establish in the mind of the Mughal a disposition favourable to the English, while Sir Thomas returned to England impressed with the splendour and wealth of the Mughal Empire, but also with its incoherent character. The conception, however, of a territorial dominion in India was as yet altogether remote and outside the sphere of speculation of the East India Company.

Raleigh, before he became a prisoner in the Tower, had striven vainly to realise his own and Humphrey Gilbert's dream of planting a colony in North America which should be the starting point for building up a new England beyond the ocean. But Englishmen in Elizabeth's latter years were too eagerly bent on seeking short cuts to enormous wealth by annexing gold mines or looting treasure ships to be willing to settle themselves down in far-off lands, where there were no gold mines and wealth could only be acquired at the cost of much drudgery and continuous hard work. Raleigh's Virginian colonies failed; but the peace with Spain cleared the way for the commercial spirit to enter where adventurers had not chosen to tread.

American colonisation: Raleigh.

In 1606 a group of merchants, nobles, and men of substance, formed a company, and obtained a charter to work out Raleigh's dream of a Virginian colony, outside the sphere of collision with the Spaniard. There was no guiding precedent for such an attempt. More than two thousand years ago the Greeks had indeed done something of the kind. But the Roman had not planted colonies in unexplored regions. What he called a colony was a military settlement, in the nature of a garrison, established in conquered territory. The Spaniards in recent years had occupied the New World as a conquering race ruling over an enslaved population, exploiting

The new colonial idea.

the mineral wealth of the land, not creating a new Spain. But essentially the English idea was the expansion of England; the appropriation as a new England of land where English institutions would be reproduced among English folk; where there were no civilised states to be destroyed, as in Mexico and Peru, no savages to be enslaved, but only nomadic tribes, which might be pushed aside; where the conquest was to be effected not over man but over nature, and the fruits of the earth were to be wrested from it as in England itself, with only such variations as the conditions of soil and climate necessitated. The interests of the colonists were to be subservient to the interests of the Crown, but the colony was not to be, as with the Spaniards, merely a Crown estate. And it was to be created as a commercial speculation for the benefit of the partners who financed it; it was to take care of itself, to be the business of private enterprise, conducted with the minimum of interference on the part of the State.

1606. The Virginia Company.

The region granted to the Virginia Company by the charter of 1606 was in effect the North American continent from Nova Scotia on the north to what is now Carolina on the south, to which England had for some time asserted a vague claim. The actual site selected by the first colonists, who arrived in April 1607, not far from the mouth of the Chesapeake, was given the name of Jamestown, while the colony at large received Raleigh's old name of Virginia. The government was vested in a supreme council in London, which was the ultimate authority, subject to the king in council, and in a resident council, elected from among the colonists, which was to manage matters on the spot.

1609-25. The modified charter.

The first years were troublous enough. The first settlers were undisciplined, the complex machinery of government very soon proved itself impossibly cumbrous, and nothing but the dauntless energy and resourcefulness of the leader, Captain Thomas Smith, saved the colony from destruction. In 1609 a new charter gave the directors in London the ultimate control; but a governor nominated by them was given very nearly a free hand in the administration

on the spot. In 1619 matters had progressed far enough to permit the creation of a constitution. An Assembly of Burgesses, elected by the votes of the free settlers, was established; and the system of self-government having been thus initiated was again developed into a new constitution in 1625, immediately after the death of King James. A council in London, being practically a committee of the Privy Council, was still the ultimate authority; but the executive government on the spot was entrusted to a nominated governor and twelve assistant officials, while the House of Burgesses was soon recognised as possessing powers analogous to those of parliament in England, and including the control of internal taxation.

Commercial imperialism.

Commercialism produced the great East India Company, which was only the most remarkable and the most successful of a growing group of companies having as their single object the extension of trade in hitherto unavailable markets. Colonisation and territorial expansion did not fall within their purview. Colonisation had failed when the attempt had been inspired in Raleigh by imperialism, the desire for territorial expansion. Successful colonisation began when commercialism and imperialism were combined in the project of the Virginia Company. The new colony was a commercial undertaking, with the ideal of imperialism to aid it; to some of the promoters it was an imperial undertaking, with the commercial inducement superadded. It was not merely to be self-supporting; it was to develop especially such products of the country as were suitable for export, whereby it would also become a market for English merchandise. At the same time it provided a new field for a surplus population, attractive not so much to the industrial classes as to the impecunious gentry, younger sons for whom it was difficult to make provision at home or to find employments consonant with their ideas of their own dignity. It was a matter of course that they carried with them to the new lands the prevalent conceptions of their own class. Conditions of soil and climate were adapted to the cultivation of great estates by means of slave labour; the importation of negro slaves began in 1620, and Virginia soon became a country

The 'plantation' type.

of great English landholders, Church of England men with the characteristics of a landed aristocracy, while the hard work of cultivation was mainly carried on by negro slaves.

Of a very different type was the second great venture in colonisation. In the end of Elizabeth's reign a number of advanced Puritans, chiefly Independents, had preferred emigration to Holland, where they enjoyed freedom of worship, to residence in England, where they were compelled to conform to the established Church. The Hampton Court Conference and its consequences drove forth a new body of emigrants. But they were not happy in Holland, and they presently turned their eyes to the New World. The Virginia Company in England having fixed its own point of settlement in the south of the region granted to it by charter, another company took over its rights in the territory between Nova Scotia and the lower Hudson, the point where the Dutch were beginning to plant themselves. The new company made no attempt to establish a colony themselves; and the refugees in Holland, in conjunction with friends in England, had no difficulty in procuring a concession from them.

Puritan New England.

The English government, while it insisted upon a degree of uniformity at home, had no objection to sanctioning the settlement in America of a colony free from those restrictions; and in 1620 the small group of Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, and founded the first of the New England colonies at Plymouth, named after the port from which they had sailed. Neither commerce nor imperialism was their motive; they were in search only of a new land where they could worship undisturbed after their own Puritan fashion. The country had little enough of natural wealth to exploit; the settlers had hard fights with the Redskins and a hard fight with nature. Slave labour would have been of no use to them; their ideas of self-government were democratic, and their democracy was rooted in Calvinism.

1620. The Pilgrim Fathers.

The two types of colony, both of which were born in the reign of James I., continued to be developed during the next reign in

the plantation colonies of the south and the New England Puritan settlements of the north. The community at Plymouth received small reinforcements; but it was not till 1629 that the Massachusetts Company established the second great Puritan colony at Boston—a colony primarily consisting of Puritans who had not separated themselves from the Anglican Church but found the growing ascendency of the High Church in England intolerable. Three years later came the second plantation colony of Maryland, created for the relief of English Roman Catholics—a colony where the old religion was guaranteed that toleration which was not allowed to it either by Anglican Virginia or by Puritan New England. In the coming struggle at home it followed that the sympathies of the southern colonies were Royalist, while those of the northern colonies were with the parliament.

The two types reproduced.

CHAPTER XI. THE RULE OF CHARLES I., 1625-1642

I. BUCKINGHAM, 1625-1629

THE death of King James made no alteration in foreign policy; in this sense, that at the close of his reign he was allowing Charles and Buckingham to go their own way, and they continued to go their own way after he was dead. Senility and inability to say 'No' to his beloved 'Baby Charles' and 'Stenie'—his pet names for the Prince of Wales and the favourite—deprived him of control; left to himself, the old man would not have committed the particular blunders of dispatching Mansfeld's expedition and pledging himself to a heavy war expenditure. When Charles became king he found himself saddled with the disaster to the troops, with pecuniary pledges which it was entirely impossible to meet without parliamentary grants, and with pledges to the French regarding toleration for Romanists which were in flat contradiction to the pledges that had been given to parliament. That parliament was automatically dissolved by the death of James; it was imperative, if friendship with France was to be preserved, that the French marriage should be an accomplished fact before a new parliament should meet. Charles married Henrietta by proxy in May, in June the young queen had joined her consort, and at midsummer the first parliament of Charles was assembled. Charles met it with a request for supplies to carry on the war.

1625. **The French marriage.**

The Tudors had worked in harmony with their parliaments, because they had always treated them with confidence, on the assumption that the interests of the Crown and the nation were identical, that they were working together for the same ends, and that the best brains in the

Crown and Parliament.

country were loyally devoted to the public service—whereof the proof lay in the efficiency with which the public service was conducted. King James had fallen away from that attitude in disregard of the counsels of Francis Bacon, and had persisted in treating the Commons as a body with whom he was driving a bargain. The Commons had assumed a corresponding attitude, and the old tone of mutual confidence had become a thing of the past. Moreover, ever since the death of Salisbury confidence in the king's ministers had vanished, and their incompetence had reached an ugly climax in the last disaster of the reign. Still there had been no open rupture; the king had scolded, but he had not attempted to coerce. Although he had been upon dangerous ground he had not in practice pushed his absolutist theories so far as to force an open conflict.

The situation aggravated.

But the position had been made still more critical by the events since the last session of the two Houses. Charles and Buckingham had committed themselves to a policy widely divergent from or actually antagonistic to the will of parliament; and when the new assembly met it was evident that the opposition would be not less but more intense. All the old leaders were there, and there were no reinforcements for the government. Parliament was suspicious and angry; Charles looked upon it as a body not even to be bargained with, but rather as an aggressively hostile force to which it would be dangerous to yield; and parliament was quite ready to suspect the Crown of aggressive hostility—a view fully warranted by the arrogance of Buckingham. There was no diplomatist on either side to pour oil on the troubled waters, to seek for grounds of agreement instead of emphasising the discordant elements of the situation.

The New Anglican school.

The laxity of the Crown in the punishment of recusancy was a perpetual irritant to the Puritanism of the Commons, which was further alarmed by the recent developments in the anti-Puritan, Anglo-Catholic, or High Church section of the clergy—the group which regarded the episcopal system not merely as the best form of ecclesiastical organisation but as the only form permissible in the Church

Catholic, the only form compatible with the continuity of the Apostolic Succession and with the claims of the priesthood to a divinely constituted authority. That claim itself was repudiated by Puritanism, which would have nothing to say to a priesthood, and recognised only a 'ministry' deriving its authority not from ordination but from the right discharge of its functions. The High Church view readily associated itself with correspondingly high monarchical doctrines, just as Puritanism naturally associated itself with popular or democratic theories of government; and the tendency of its advocates was to develop the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, which were to become so prominent at a somewhat later stage.

But at this time the followers of this school were advocating the theory known as Arminianism, from the Dutch theologian whose name was Latinised as Arminius—doctrines which traversed the Calvinistic dogmas of Grace and Predestination, which were then generally regarded as orthodox by the bulk of the clergy and the laity. To the strict Puritans, therefore, these men were at once innovators in religion and papists in all but name. James, whose theology was Calvinistic, had treated them with no great favour; but Charles found himself in complete accord with them, and had already been instrumental, as Prince of Wales, in obtaining promotion for some of their number, notably William Laud, who was destined to be one of the most celebrated of English primates.

Arminianism.

Ever since Henry VIII. quarrelled with the Pope, the Crown had asserted its own ecclesiastical supremacy, acknowledging no right of parliament to exercise control except in its strictly legislative capacity. In the latter years of Elizabeth, Paul Wentworth and others had suffered for their obstinate opposition to this view. In the reign of James the Commons had insisted on their right of discussion and of condemning unacceptable doctrines. The last parliament of the reign had censured a clergyman, Richard Montague, for an Arminian pamphlet, a censure which was not endorsed by the old king, much less by his son.

Parliament and the clergy.

Thus there was ample store of inflammable material when

Charles met his first parliament and called for supplies without disclosing the manner in which those supplies were to be spent. The administration had nothing to show for the last supplies which had been granted. The Commons received the demand coldly, voted only two subsidies, and proceeded to grant tonnage and poundage for one year only—tonnage and poundage being port duties levied at a fixed rate on every ton or pound of imported goods. Since the time of Henry VI. it had been the custom for the first parliament of each reign to grant the king tonnage and poundage for the term of the reign; the vote therefore ignored precedent, although it could be argued that the grant had always been an act not of right, but of grace. The Commons, however, did not choose to place more money at the disposal of the treasury until they were satisfied as to the manner in which it was to be spent; and even this vote was preceded by a petition for the stringent enforcement of the recusancy laws, and by another attack upon the unrepentant Montague, to which the king responded by making him a royal chaplain.

1625. The first collision.

Buckingham sought to remedy a tactical error by laying before the House the estimated requirements for the fleet, for the financial support promised to Denmark as the recognised champion of the Protestant cause, and for Mansfeld. But the Commons after a few weeks' adjournment, instead of voting supplies, returned to the religious question and opened an attack upon Buckingham; whereupon the king dissolved parliament without even waiting for the final stages of the Tonnage and Poundage Bill. He had at least his two subsidies.

The first parliament dissolved.

On this meagre basis the king and Buckingham furnished forth an expedition which was to revive the great days of Drake and Raleigh by striking at Cadiz. But though the armament sent forth ought to have been extremely formidable, the ships were not manned by Elizabethan crews or commanded by Elizabethan captains. The crews were pressed men with no stomach for fighting, and the captains were ignorant of their business. The attack on Cadiz failed, and the

The Cadiz Expedition.

men got drunk. They put to sea to waylay an expected treasure fleet, and the treasure fleet eluded them without difficulty. The fleet came home again with no laurels and no spoils to convert the popular distrust into enthusiasm.

The Huguenot complication.

Matters were complicated by the exceedingly strained relations with France. Before the end of 1624 the Huguenots in that country had taken up arms against the government. To save the French alliance at that critical stage, English ships had been promised, to be used against La Rochelle. Englishmen were not at all inclined to help in the suppression of Huguenots, being quite ignorant of the circumstances. Charles, anxious to conciliate the Protestant sentiment of his own subjects, withheld the promised ships until it was reported that Louis and the Huguenots had come to terms. Then he let them go, and Louis, who had not in fact come to terms with the Huguenots, retained them.

Meanwhile, Louis was annoyed by the news, from his sister's entourage, of renewed persecution of English Romanists, and English Protestants were annoyed by suspicions of the sinister influence of the king's French wife. Buckingham proposed to offer mediation between the French king and the Huguenots; but he was personally in bad odour at the French court, and Louis declined to receive him until effect should be given to the old promises for the relief of the English Romanists. Richelieu had no intention whatever of persecuting the Huguenots, but the suppression of rebellion was not a matter in which any foreign intervention could be admitted.

1626. The second parliament.

The first parliament had been dissolved, but the king's need of money was only the more insistent. A second parliament was summoned to meet in February 1626; the king hoped to make it more amenable by nominating some of the Opposition leaders, Coke, Wentworth, Phelips, and others as sheriffs—an office which disqualified them from sitting in parliament. The result was that the leadership fell to Sir John Eliot, the most effective orator and the sincerest patriot in the House. Originally friendly to Buckingham, and not disposed to join with Wentworth and others in concentrat-

ing upon an attack on the duke, he had abstained from taking a foremost place in the last parliament. By this time, however, he had learnt to recognise in Buckingham the king's evil genius. He now led the demand for an inquiry into the Cadiz fiasco and the breach in the relations with France. The king pressed his demand for supply; the Commons would only denounce Buckingham. Charles threatened those who attacked the favourite with punishment; the House asserted its right to discuss whomsoever or whatsoever it chose with absolute freedom. Under Eliot's guidance a resolution was passed promising all necessary supplies, but postponing discussion thereon till grievances should be remedied. After a brief adjournment the Commons prepared to impeach Buckingham formally. The indictment contained in the main charges which were true and could be substantiated; but as concerns those which were most serious, the duke's acts had been directly approved and sanctioned by the king himself. The form of the indictment implied the recognition of a new principle, a principle which had never before been asserted, that the king's orders did not relieve a minister of his personal responsibility; a vital principle which was not finally established till another half century had passed.

Sir John Eliot.

And in the meanwhile the comparatively amenable temper of the House of Peers had been undergoing a change. For at the end of the last reign the Earl of Bristol had been disgraced at Buckingham's instigation, because he had been ambassador in Spain at the time of the prince's visit to Madrid, and his attitude with regard to that unfortunate episode had not been to the duke's liking. Now Bristol, forbidden to take his seat in the House of Lords, appealed to the Peers and demanded to be heard. The king urged the House to refuse him a hearing, and preferred an indictment against Bristol in response to Bristol's indictment against Buckingham. The Peers were roused in defence of their Order, and it was in these circumstances that the Commons laid before them Buckingham's impeachment. When preferring the charges, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges used, or were reported to have used,

The Peers alienated.

language which caused the deepest offence to the king. Both were sent to the Tower, and were only very grudgingly released. The Commons declined to vote supplies until Buckingham was removed. The progress of the impeachment was stayed by the dissolution of parliament in June.

The second parliament dissolved, June.

For twenty-one months Charles and Buckingham made shift to do without parliament, in other words, to live upon such supplies as could be raised by any means which the judges could be induced to pronounce lawful. The judgment in Bate's case twenty years before warranted the levying of tonnage and poundage and impositions. The counties made no response to an invitation to bestow a free gift. Then the king demanded a forced loan, the equivalent of five subsidies. Chief Justice Crewe, backed by the whole bench, pronounced that the demand could not be legally enforced; even the dismissal of Crewe did not persuade the rest of the judges to change their opinion. Nevertheless, the king penalised those who refused the loan; men of position were sent to prison; minor recalcitrants were pressed for military service, or had soldiers billeted upon them. By these means Charles extorted two-thirds of the sum he had demanded, itself less than a third of what his ambitious programme imperatively needed. He could not send his uncle of Denmark the promised supplies; Christian could not pay his troops, and was disastrously defeated by Tilly at Lutter. Wallenstein and his new army had taken the field for the imperialists, whose complete triumph seemed to be imminent.

The forced loan.

If anything were really to be done in Germany, it was of supreme importance that both England and France should act with energy and in loyal co-operation. England could not act till King and Commons reconciled their differences. France could not act until the Huguenot faction submitted to Richelieu's government. In England affairs were at a deadlock because the king would not give up Buckingham, whose dismissal the country demanded. To make matters worse, the king and the duke were drifting into war

1627. Breach with France.

with France instead of recognising the primary necessity for co-operation. By way of championing Protestantism they embarked upon the policy of encouraging the Huguenots, and inciting them to a more active resistance to the government. In 1627, Buckingham as Lord Admiral led a great expedition to the Isle of Rhé, which commanded the entrance to La Rochelle —that is, if the English held the island with their fleet it would be a sheer impossibility to blockade the place, and the Rochelle fleets would be able to scour the seas.

The expedition failed disastrously, like Buckingham's two previous enterprises. A vigorous French garrison was in occupation of St. Martin, the principal fortress on the island. Buckingham effected a landing with difficulty, and set about the siege of St. Martin, getting practically no help from the Rochellois, while the French government's preparations for besieging La Rochelle itself were pressed forward. After a two months' blockade of St. Martin, when the garrison was on the point of being reduced by starvation, a French flotilla slipped through the English fleet carrying abundant supplies to the beleagured fortress. Buckingham called for reinforcements, but when they were collected in England with much difficulty, storms drove the ships off the seas. Buckingham's personal bravery was unimpeachable, but his generalship was beneath contempt: his soldiers were pressed men, mostly riffraff, with no heart in the business and no faith in their officers. At the end of the third month an attempt was made to seize St. Martin by escalade; it failed ignominiously because the ladders were too short. Sickness was rife, necessaries of every kind were lacking. The prospect had become hopeless; Buckingham re-embarked his troops and retired, but even while they were being withdrawn the French from St. Martin attacked them and cut them up. Of the six thousand men who had sailed, only three thousand got back to England. The failure only increased Buckingham's determination. But all the royal expedients for raising money still left the revenue far in arrear of the expenditure. There was nothing for it but to summon the third parliament, which

The Isle of Rhé.

1628. The third parliament.

met in March 1628, in a mood even more suspicious and hostile than any of its predecessors.

All the old grievances had become intensified since the dissolution in 1626. The Crown had ignored the views of the Commons upon tonnage and poundage and the impositions which, in accordance with the law as expounded by the judges, it had continued to levy by royal prerogative. A forced loan had been raised which the judges themselves had declined to recognise as legal. For refusing to pay, men had been vindictively penalised and even thrown into prison. Five knights who had been thus incarcerated claimed their *habeas corpus*, their right of trial, which involved a statement of the specific offence with which they were charged. The Crown claimed the right of committal and detention at its pleasure without specifying any charge, as a necessity of state. Though the knights had been presently released, it was not till after the judges had refused bail and confirmed the king's prerogative of committal and detention 'for a reasonable time.' Further, the troops had been billeted upon the people in a highly tyrannical fashion, and the Crown had issued a commission for dealing with offences under martial law to which civilians as well as the soldiery had been subjected. And still there was the supreme grievance that the administration remained in the hands of Buckingham, and continued to be attended with disaster.

Grievances.

As before, the Commons were determined to deal with grievances before discussing supply. They passed a resolution in favour of voting five subsidies, the amount which Charles had endeavoured to raise by the forced loan; but they postponed the vote itself. Wentworth urged a bill, prohibiting taxation without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, martial law in time of peace, and billeting. Charles tried hard to prevent the introduction of the bill by inducing the House to accept instead his own promise to 'preserve the just liberties of his subjects.' Wentworth answered that while the House would take the king's word as concerned himself, a legal enactment was necessary for the restraint of his ministers. The king replied in effect that his own prerogative of discretion must

Wentworth.

not be impaired. The Commons dropped the bill, but resolved to proceed by way of petition.

The Petition of Right was prepared by 8th May, and a conference was held with the Lords. The Lords inclined to think that the petition encroached too far on the royal prerogative. Wentworth favoured a joint committee to consider the addition of some clause safeguarding prerogative, but Eliot and the majority in the Commons declined. The Lords did not press the point, but adopted the petition. The king and his council devised a reply in general terms which practically promised nothing at all. Thereupon the fiery Eliot poured forth to the displeased Commons a sweeping indictment of all the misdoings and mismanagement during the king's reign, and moved a remonstrance. The king tried to stop the discussion, but the Commons stood firm; and on 7th June Charles accepted the Petition of Right with the usual formula of assent to an Act of parliament.

The Petition of Right.

The Commons conceived that they had won a decisive victory. Two of the four sections of the petition abolished billeting and martial law, a third forbade imprisonment without the bringing of a specific charge, and the remaining section forbade the king to levy 'any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge without common consent by Act of parliament.' It remained to be seen, however, that differences of interpretation of this section left at least the whole question of tonnage and poundage still unresolved. The phrase 'tax or such like charge' might be held to cover or not to cover the particular imposts according to the bias of the interpreter. As it very shortly appeared, the king and his advisers took one view and the Commons took the other. It was possible for the Crown to maintain that the word 'tax' applied only to direct taxation, that the Commons had expressly declared that they did not wish to trench on the prerogatives of the Crown, that the Crown explicitly claimed, and the law declared, that indirect taxation was a royal prerogative, and consequently that the right of levying those imposts was not infringed by the Petition. The Commons, on the other hand, could declare that the king on

Terms of the Petition.

accepting the Petition was thoroughly aware that the intention was to cover tonnage and poundage, and that to put any other interpretation upon it was dishonest.

The Petition, however, left untouched two other grievances, the position of Buckingham and the clergy question. For some time past the High Churchmen had been allowed in their pulpits to proclaim the most extreme theories of the royal authority. Archbishop Abbot had braved the king's disfavour by refusing in spite of the king's orders to license the publication of certain of these sermons, whose preachers Charles nevertheless rewarded with ecclesiastical promotion. One of them, Roger Manwaring, impeached by the Commons, was fined, and otherwise penalised by the Lords. Charles responded by translating Laud, the most active of the Arminians, to the bishopric of London, promoting Montague, the former object of parliamentary wrath, to the bishopric of Chichester, and bestowing upon Manwaring a pardon and the rectory vacated by Montague's promotion.

The Arminians.

Meanwhile the Commons had proceeded with the Subsidies Bill, and simultaneously with the Remonstrance which Eliot had introduced. This was directed partly against the Arminian clergy, but mainly against Buckingham, denouncing him in unmeasured terms, and demanding his dismissal; and again they passed the Tonnage and Poundage Bill for one year only, instead of for the term of the reign. When Charles rejected the proposal they went on to a second remonstrance, declaring that the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament was barred by the Petition of Right. The king flatly rejected their interpretation of that instrument on the ground that they themselves had declared that the Petition was not intended to trench upon prerogatives recognised by law and by prescription, refused emphatically to surrender his right, and prorogued the parliament on 26th June.

Parliament prorogued, June.

Three weeks after the prorogation the parliamentary leaders learnt with alarm and indignation that Thomas Wentworth had accepted a peerage, and had deserted the parliamentary for

the royal cause. The apostasy of Wentworth is one of the insoluble riddles of history. Down to the moment when the king accepted the Petition of Right, none had exceeded him in his fearless insistence upon the demands of parliament and his hostility to the Buckingham régime. Within six weeks he broke with his old colleagues suddenly and completely, to become the most dangerous champion of absolutism since the time of Thomas Cromwell. More than one plausible explanation of the change could be offered if it had occurred after instead of before the death of Buckingham. Such a man as Wentworth might well have seen in a parliamentary Opposition headed by himself the only hope of breaking the power of the duke, a power which portended nothing but disaster to the country. Yet it seems incredible, if antagonism to Buckingham, either on patriotic or on personal grounds, had been the motive of his political action hitherto, that he should have joined the king at the moment when Buckingham's personal influence was most completely demonstrated. He can have hoped neither to displace him in the king's favour nor to work with him as a colleague. It is equally incredible that he was simply bribed by a peerage. It is not easy to suppose that he had merely calculated upon winning the royal favour on his own terms by proving that his support was worth buying.

Wentworth joins the king, July.

Perhaps the best solution is to be found in the view that he had an intense belief in himself, and not much belief in any one else. Utterly condemning the reckless Buckingham régime, he had hoped to make himself so formidable as parliamentary leader, and to achieve such an ascendency in parliament itself, as to force himself into the supreme control. But the experience of the second quarter of the year 1628 taught him that Eliot already commanded the ear of the House more thoroughly than he, and that Pym would prove a not less dangerous rival. He never shared the sentiments of the majority of the House on the religious question; he had looked to rest his own personal power upon the support of the House, not to make that House the practical sovereign. He fought for the cause

A possible explanation.

which he had advocated up to the limit which he laid down, as expressed in the Petition of Right; but even then he had found himself opposing Eliot on questions of method and had shown a greater readiness to conciliate the Lords, and to safeguard the royal prerogative. If he had intended not that the Commons should rule, but that he should rule as king of the Commons, that hope had faded. The alternative was, to rule as the king's man. He joined the court.

The champion of absolutism.

What would have happened if Buckingham had lived might be made the subject of much ingenious speculation; but Buckingham did not live, and Wentworth as king's man strove to achieve upon the lines of absolutism that concentration of power in his own capable hands which would have been out of his reach as one among the parliamentary leaders, but was in his view necessary to the salvation of the State. As we interpret his conduct, he was not converted from a belief in parliament to a belief in monarchy, nor had he from the beginning contemplated a change of front when the right moment should come; but he changed sides when the conviction was forced upon him that his own ascendency, his own policy, would not be attained by remaining where he was; that the victory of parliament would not be the victory of Thomas Wentworth.

Murder of Buckingham, August.

At the moment, however, Buckingham was supreme. An English squadron had returned to La Rochelle in May, only to find that during the last six months a mole across the mouth of the harbour had been all but completed by the besiegers, which would make it impossible for reliefs to reach the city by water. The duke was resolved on one more desperate effort to achieve a brilliant stroke, to his own glory, which should compel Richelieu to agree to an accommodation acceptable to England. To this end a new expedition was being fitted out at Portsmouth, whither Buckingham repaired to take up the command in August. Thither also repaired John Felton, who had served as a lieutenant in the Rhé expedition. Sharing in the common anger at the ignominy of its failure, nourishing a bitter grudge against Buckingham, who

had refused him promotion, mastered by a sort of religious mania which convinced him that he was destined to be God's instrument for the destruction of England's worst enemy, Felton made his way to Portsmouth to Buckingham's lodgings and stabbed him to the heart. The murder was hailed with a sickening outburst of popular glee which the king never forgot nor forgave.

The expedition sailed under the earl of Lindsay, who found Rochelle reduced almost to the last extremities. A messenger sent to Richelieu to negotiate was politely shown over the works, instructed in the sheer impossibility of effecting a relief, and informed that when Rochelle had fallen there would be no subsequent persecution of the Huguenots. Lindsay retired, Rochelle surrendered, and Richelieu kept his promise. **Rochelle submits.**

Meanwhile Charles levied tonnage and poundage and the impositions by his own authority. Stubborn supporters of the parliament refused to pay the duties; some of them were thrown into prison, others had their goods sequestrated. The meeting of parliament was prorogued till January; a royal proclamation forbade religious disputations, while the Arminians were allowed to preach their unacceptable doctrines as if there were nothing disputatious about them.

When the Houses met, the Commons at once raised the question of the levying of customs duties without their sanction. The king offered not to press his legal claims if the House would proceed to grant the customs in the usual manner. But the House was not in a compromising temper. The goods of one of the members, John Rolle, had been seized on his refusal to pay the duties upon them. In its irritated temper the House chose to regard this as a breach of privilege. Pym urged it to take up the broad ground of defending the rights of the community; under Eliot's guidance it elected instead to join issue on the much narrower question of the privileges of the House. The Commons summoned to the bar the custom-house officers who were responsible; the king warned them that the officers had acted by his express command, **Parliament, January 1629.**

which added a new gravity to the situation. Meanwhile, too, the members had taken up the other urgent question, that of the Arminian clergy, drafted resolutions complaining of the preferments bestowed upon them, of the increase of popery, of the suppression of true teaching and of ceremonial innovations; and ordered the innovators to answer for themselves at the bar of the House.

An adjournment and a second adjournment deferred the next meeting of the House till 2nd March, when the Speaker, Sir John Finch, announced that it was the king's pleasure that there should be a further adjournment till the 10th, attempts to effect an understanding with the leaders having failed during the recent interval. The House refused to adjourn, and Eliot rose to speak. Finch rose to leave the chair, announcing that such were the king's instructions; two of the members, Holles and Valentine, held him down in his seat, while Eliot addressed the assembly and tendered a protestation to the Speaker. Finch refused to put it to the vote. There ensued a scene of wild excitement; one of the members locked the doors, Finch remained obdurate, and Eliot threw his resolution into the fire. A party of the king's guard dispatched by the king himself was hammering at the door when Holles stepped forward and put to the vote the three resolutions which the leaders had drafted.

The scene on 2nd March.

'1. Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and the commonwealth.

The three resolutions.

'2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or an instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.

'3. If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage or poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed

a betrayer of the liberty of England and an enemy to the same.'

The resolutions were carried by acclamation; the doors were flung open, and the members streamed out. Eleven years were to pass before another parliament assembled.

II. Rule without Parliament, 1629-1640

In June 1628 the Commons were under the impression that the Petition of Right had put it out of the king's power to raise a sufficient revenue for the government of the country without obtaining parliamentary sanction, and also that it had prohibited arbitrary imprisonment. On the first head they were disillusioned within a few weeks, and on the second within a few months. The king believed, and acted at once on the belief, that in assenting to the Petition he had not surrendered what he and the law courts held to be the royal prerogative of levying duties at the ports. The Houses were no sooner dissolved in March 1629 than the king showed how little the Petition encroached upon his powers of arbitrary imprisonment. As for Eliot's resolutions, they were merely the expressions of opinion of one House of Parliament, having no validity in law. A merchant named Chambers, who had refused to pay duties and expressed his sentiments on the subject with audacity, was fined and imprisoned by the Star Chamber. Nine members of the House of Commons were brought before the Court of King's Bench and charged with riot and sedition. They denied the jurisdiction, claiming that for proceedings in parliament members were responsible to parliament itself and to no other court. Nevertheless three of them—Eliot, Valentine, and Strode—were thrown into prison, where Eliot died two years afterwards, and the other two remained until 1640. If that judgment held good, freedom of speech in parliament was dead; but the king had made up his mind not to summon another parliament until his opponents had seen the error of their ways.

Disillusionment.

The Star Chamber.

During the eleven years of government without parliament,

from 1629 to 1640, no one took Buckingham's place. At the end of 1629 Wentworth took up his duties as president of the Council of the North, and in 1633 his abilities found a new sphere of operation in Ireland. For many years the personal influence by which the king was overruled was that of the wife who no longer suffered from the neglect which she had resented in the days of Buckingham's ascendency. But the king himself governed through two men, the treasurer, Weston, and William Laud, now bishop of London, and from 1633 archbishop of Canterbury.

The king rules.

One thing was obvious. Merely in order that the king's government might be carried on, every device sanctioned by the law must be applied to raising money. When every available penny had been raised, the strictest economy must still be exercised. There was no room for grandiose schemes of military intervention in the affairs of Europe. Peace was readily made with France in 1629, and with Spain in 1630. As for the war in Germany, the leadership of the Protestant cause passed in 1630 to Gustavus Adolphus, and English Protestants soon ceased to be seriously afraid of the destruction of German Protestantism. Charles, never keenly interested in German Protestantism, cared only to procure the restoration of his brother-in-law, and subsequently of his nephew, in the Palatinate, a question of very little interest to any one else. Charles might, and did, direct diplomatic efforts to procuring alliances with this end in view; but since he had no adequate inducements to offer, none of his efforts had any practical issue. All the circumstances combined to keep England at peace with her neighbours, since none of them, as things stood, were afraid of her active hostility. Because the years of arbitrary government were years of peace, commerce expanded and the country prospered. The merchants, who began by resisting tonnage and poundage on principle, very soon preferred paying under protest to cutting themselves off from the expanding trade. There was little sign of a coming storm while there was no parliament to clamour of grievances, and the ecclesiastical censorship of printing gagged, if it did not silence, the press as a mouthpiece of discontent.

An era of peace.

The visible prosperity on the positive side, and the comparative silence of hostility on the negative side, prevented Charles from realising the intensity of the antagonism aroused by the course he was pursuing. There was no technical overriding of the law; the king plumed himself on the strict legality of his proceedings. But he was only able to do so because the judges strained their interpretation of the law to the uttermost in favour of the prerogative. What is felt as injustice inflicted under colour of law is more exasperating than confessed illegality; and Charles's policy was endlessly exasperating. The exaction of tonnage and poundage, and a substantial increase in the impositions, were matters of course, but Weston's ingenuity discovered obsolete sources from which revenue could be legally extracted. Edward I. had applied distraint of knighthood to £20 freeholders, requiring them to take up their knighthood or to compound for it. The £40 freeholder under Charles was a person of considerably less substance than the £20 freeholder under Edward. He had no sort of wish to be a knight; but Weston applied distraint of knighthood to the £40 freeholder. A considerable sum was raised, but at the cost of extreme irritation to the small landed gentry, and to landholders who were on the verge of gentility.

A policy of exasperation.

Distraint of knighthood.

A little later in 1634 came a piece of still more antiquarian exaction. In the reign of Edward I. the Confirmation of the Charters had been followed by a Perambulation of the Forests by which the royal forests had been delimited; and the boundaries then fixed had been recognised ever since. Within the 'forests,' which for centuries had been forests only in name, the Crown exercised a peculiar jurisdiction. The accepted boundaries were now called in question, and a title was made out for the inclusion within them of a considerably increased area. It was also found that there had been gradual encroachments upon the forest area defined by the perambulation. The holders of such lands were fined, while the holders of the lands newly included were required to compound for freedom from the forest laws and the forest court. For a trivial sum, which after

1634. The royal forests.

sundry claims had been remitted amounted to less than £25,000, an immense amount of irritation was set up, permeating the whole class of which the actual victims were members.

The trading community in its turn was irritated by the revival of the monopolies which, as it was supposed, had been abolished at the close of the old king's reign. The traders as such were not hurt by the levying of customs duties; they were duties which had been paid from time immemorial, to which the sole objection was that they were now being levied without consent of parliament. But monopolies were a direct and irregular interference with trade. In 1624 the idea had been that they should thenceforth be granted only to inventors, whose right to the exclusive enjoyment of the profits arising from their inventions was generally recognised. But now Charles and his advisers, admitting that they were barred from granting monopolies to individuals, found that the terms of the prohibition did not preclude granting them to companies. Under colour of companies, court favourites purchased to their own profit, and to the advantage of the treasury, exclusive rights of producing and selling all manner of goods, to the extreme annoyance of legitimate traders, and to the inconvenience of the public, whom they, being free from competition, compelled to pay increased prices.

New monopolies.

Weston, who was made earl of Portland in 1633, had always been opposed to war expenditure, and checked in his master the misguided bellicosity which he had learnt from Buckingham. But in 1634 Charles took alarm at the attitude of France and Holland. The Dutch had been so successful in the struggle with the Spaniards that they were threatening to drive them out of the Low Countries altogether, and were in treaty with Richelieu for a partition of the Spanish Netherlands. English ascendency in the Channel, already weak enough from naval maladministration, would then be still more seriously endangered, and Charles was laudably anxious to strengthen the fleet. Without reorganisation the mere multiplication of ships would be of little avail; but Charles, like Buckingham, measured strength by expenditure; and in order

1634. Ship money.

to strengthen the fleet, a warrant was issued demanding ship money from the ports. There was ample precedent for calling upon the ports to furnish ships in time of war, or to provide a money equivalent, without parliamentary sanction; there was no precedent in time of peace. The money was furnished without resistance, though not without murmurs; in 1635 a fleet took the seas which, in appearance at any rate, was imposing. The scheme devised by the attorney-general, Noy, was extended, and a fresh writ of ship money in August demanded contributions not from the ports only, but from the whole country, the tax being assessed upon moveables as well as upon real property. The murmurs grew loud; there was no precedent for demanding ship money from the inland shires. Charles took the opinion of the judges; ten of them pronounced that when the kingdom was in danger the charges for its defence should be borne by the whole nation, and the king was to judge whether a crisis had arisen. Again the money was collected, and there was another naval demonstration in 1636 to assert the English sovereignty of the seas, and in October there was a third writ of ship money.

1635. The second writ.

1636. The third writ.

Now if the king were free to pronounce that the country was in danger whenever he thought fit, and were entitled on the strength of that pronouncement to enforce the payment of demands ostensibly for defence, it was obvious that he could raise whatever he liked whenever he liked with national defence as a pretext. The money was indeed honestly spent on the navy, but the pretence that there was a grave emergency was futile; still more obviously it could not be pleaded that urgency demanded the levy without giving time to appeal to parliament. Since parliament was not summoned, the only course possible was to bring test cases before the courts. John Hampden refused to pay the small sum of twenty shillings, at which he was assessed. The case was brought into court. Of the twelve judges seven declared in favour of the Crown, five in favour of Hampden. In the face of such a decision it should have been sufficiently obvious that to press such dubious rights on behalf of the Crown was more than impolitic;

1637. Hampden's case.

yet the king acted upon the judgment of the bare majority and persisted in enforcing the payment of ship money. Weston, it may be remarked, died soon after the first writ was issued, and the treasury was now in commission, Archbishop Laud being one of the members.

If the king's financial devices, buttressed by judges chosen by himself and removable at his pleasure, caused exasperation and alarm, so also did the ecclesiastical measures of his government, in the light of which his attitude and that of his confidants was interpreted or misinterpreted.

Ecclesiastical measures.

The Commons before the dissolution had claimed to dictate the religion of the nation as emphatically as the Crown had ever done. They had got past the stage of pressing for a wide comprehension, and were not only zealous for the persecution of Romanism, but would obviously have shown no mercy to the High Churchmen whom they were coming to regard as barely disguised papists. Charles on the other hand, though a fervent Anglican, was more tolerant of Romanism outside the pale of the Anglican Church than of Puritanism either outside or inside. Romanists were sure of favour from his queen, and the queen ruled the court. Weston and others of the king's entourage were suspected of being Romanists in secret; the belief among Romanists as well as Puritans that Laud leaned in the same direction was exemplified by the fact that when he succeeded Abbot at Canterbury he was offered the cardinal's hat. Being by no means a papist, he declined it; but the world gave much more weight to the offer than to the rejection. Puritanism viewed with indignation the virtual suspension of the laws against recusancy, accompanied by the rigorous application of the law under which they themselves suffered. Laud himself was in favour of more stringent dealings with the Romanists, but his influence was outweighed by that of Henrietta Maria, and the public did not discriminate between them. What the Puritans saw was that the men whom they regarded as orthodox were repressed, and the men whom they regarded as papistical innovators were sure of preferment; that preachers who taught extreme views on Divine right were rewarded, while

Laud.

those who upheld parliamentarian doctrines in the pulpit were punished.

When parliament was dissolved in 1629, the despondency of Puritanism was expressed in the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts, whither several Puritans of considerable estate betook themselves—men who had not yet resolved to sever themselves from the English Church, but were finding the growing pressure intolerable. For a while, however, Laud's episcopal activities were limited to his own diocese of London; otherwise his influence was felt chiefly in the directing of patronage, through the censorship of publications which he practically controlled, and by his prominence in the Court of Star Chamber. Laud suffered from the favourite conviction of pedantic disciplinarians, that violence of language should be silenced by disproportionately merciless penalties. So a Scottish zealot named Alexander Leighton was penalised for a wild tirade against the episcopacy not only by a fine of £10,000—the equivalent of a far larger sum at the present day—but also by flogging, the cropping of an ear, exposure in the pillory, and imprisonment from which he was not released for ten years. An Englishman, Henry Sherfield, who smashed with his stick a church window which offended more susceptibilities than those of Puritans, was fined £500 because the bishop of the diocese had refused to allow the window to be removed. The blunder lay not in inflicting punishment, but in the magnification of Sherfield's offence into a Star Chamber matter, and in elevating an honest if scurrilous pamphleteer into a martyred victim of vindictive vengeance.

Puritan emigration.

1629-33. Laud in London.

After Laud became archbishop in 1633 he was able greatly to extend the area of his disciplinary zeal, which covered not only his own diocese but the whole province of Canterbury. Throughout the whole province he instituted a visitation, everywhere enforcing every detail of ceremonial; and particularly offending the Puritans by insisting that the Communion table should stand at the east end of every church.

1633. Laud archbishop.

If Laud was precise and exacting in all that concerned ceremonial and subordination to episcopal authority, the Puritans were precise in their view of morals. They would have repressed the festal gatherings and junketings wherein the carnally minded rejoiced; most especially were such doings abhorrent to them upon the Sabbath. But the Puritan conception of the Sabbath was not the traditional English idea of Sunday, and James I. had put forth a *Declaration of Sports* which encouraged the treatment of Sunday as a holiday. The declaration was now reissued and ordered to be read in every pulpit. The stricter Puritans among the clergy refused to obey the order, and for so doing were either suspended or deprived. Public opinion probably did not endorse the views of the Puritans, but Laud's action was condemned by all moderate men.

Sunday.

The Puritans looked upon stage plays as a snare of the devil; a lawyer named John Prynne denounced them in an extravagant pamphlet entitled *Histriomastix*. Stage plays were popular at the court; some of Prynne's remarks were taken as insulting to the queen. He was brought before the Star Chamber, which fined him £5000, exposed him in the pillory, cropped his ears, and sent him to prison like Leighton. The attitude of the average man to people like Prynne was very much that of Sir Toby Belch to Malvolio, and the brutality of the sentence on this occasion seems to have excited little attention; as the severities multiplied, however, the mere sense of fair play generated popular resentment. In 1637 Prynne, who had continued his diatribes from prison, was again condemned to be fined and pilloried along with a clergyman named Burton and a doctor named Bastwick, for attacking ceremonies and bishops; and on this occasion, when the three victims were pilloried, they received a popular ovation. Persecution is successful when it keeps strictly to the limits approved by public feeling, or when it inspires sheer terror. Persecution which outstrips public feeling but fails to inspire terror, creates or intensifies the very sentiments which it seeks to eradicate. Convinced Puritans became zealots, and crowds of natural opponents of Puritanism were transformed into sympathisers.

John Prynne and others.

In England the king and the archbishop, firmly convinced that the course they were following was morally and legally commendable, were blind and deaf to the omens which should at least have suggested its inexpediency. In fact for their purposes its fatal defect lay in the failure of their methods to produce any impression of real strength. The country felt itself checked and controlled by ecclesiastical pedantry and legal chicanery which inspired no respect and very little fear. The king, the archbishop, and the judges were putting together the machinery of absolutism; but unless something were added to it which they could not provide, it was certain sooner or later to crumble to pieces, unable to resist the shock of the hostility which it was arousing. It wanted a master mind and a master will. The parliament men in England knew that some day the shifts would be exhausted, that parliament would have to be summoned, and that when that time came it would prove itself stronger than Charles and Laud.

But outside of England there were two forces to be reckoned with—Scotland and Wentworth.

III. Wentworth and the Scots

From the moment when Wentworth apostatised, he set himself to the task of making the Crown uncompromisingly absolute. We have suggested that hitherto he had kept two alternatives before him, the absolutism of the Crown through Wentworth as its supreme minister, or the dictatorship of Wentworth through an assenting parliament dominated by his personality. Buckingham's antagonism precluded the first alternative, dissatisfied though he was with the second. But the way was open to him when the duke offered the presidency of the Council of the North which had previously been refused to him; and even when Buckingham was dead Wentworth chose the vice-royalty of the North and the vice-royalty of Ireland, where he would have a free hand, as a better field for organising autocracy than Whitehall, where he would be in eternal collision with the intrigues of the queen and the courtiers.

Thomas Wentworth.

The Council of the North had been created by Henry VIII. shortly after the Pilgrimage of Grace, when the turbulence of the northern counties and their remoteness from the central administration had provided more than sufficient warrant for subjecting them to a government with comparatively arbitrary powers. Those powers had been somewhat enlarged by royal authority, without arousing opposition, on the principle which in the nineteenth century created non-regulation provinces in India. But latterly the administration had notoriously been lax; and the commission received by the new president, and again enlarged in 1632, gave him such powers as had never been wielded by any predecessor. From the end of 1629 till 1633 Wentworth was teaching the gentlemen of the North obedience, and impressing upon them his own masterful supremacy; but always on the double principle that while the law made no distinction whatever between subjects, and was to be administered without fear or favour, yet as between subjects and the Crown the law existed to enforce the arbitrary will of the government. The master mind and the master will were there, and made the president master in fact.

1629-33. The Council of the North.

In 1633 Wentworth, still retaining his presidency, went to Ireland as deputy. In the next six years he established there such an authority as no previous deputy had ever wielded. He created such an army as no previous deputy had ever commanded. In recent years the control of the seas had been so inefficient that Algerine pirates terrorised every Irish port; he gave the ports an unprecedented security. He practically created the linen trade, the only Irish industry which was permitted by English jealousy to flourish during the next century and a half. He applied in Ireland the same principle as in the northern counties of England—among subjects, justice between man and man without fear or favour; between subjects and the Crown precisely so much justice as suited the interests of the Crown. The supremacy and the interests of the Crown outweighed all other considerations, but when these were satisfied the weak were to recognise the

1633-9. The Irish deputyship.

government as their protector against all tyranny other than its own.

The most fatal vice of tyranny is not cruelty but caprice; Wentworth was a tyrant relentless but not capricious; the country groaned under him, but its material prosperity advanced with rapid strides, and the countless minor tyrannies under which it had groaned before were sternly repressed. When the deputy was merciless or unjust it was only when he got value for injustice and mercilessness. And he established in Ireland that irresistible personal supremacy which he wished to see established in England, looking upon his victory in Ireland as a means to that greater end.

Wentworth sought to establish precisely that which was lacking in the efforts of Charles and Laud to make the Crown absolute, an adequate force at the Crown's disposal. The intellectual and moral force were provided in his own person; that was about to be made sufficiently manifest in the next shock of collision, when the parliament men were prompt enough to see that his removal was the condition of their success. By that time he had created the nucleus, but only the nucleus, of the necessary physical force. There must be an army, and for an army there must be revenue; therefore he hailed with joy the ship-money decisions which, skilfully and relentlessly applied, would enable the king to organise and pay a body of troops which would render him irresistible.

Need of an army.

Meanwhile he had accomplished the hitherto impossible task of making Ireland pay for her own troops, and making those troops an efficiently organised body; and that he had not done so by taxing the country beyond its capacity was proved by its increasing prosperity.

During Charles's first years efforts had been made to conciliate the Catholics in Ireland, that body being still very largely represented among the nobles and the gentry as well as among the peasantry. In order to obtain contributions sufficient for the maintenance of some sort of army in the country, while England was at war with Spain or France or both, the Catholics were to be relieved from

Raising a revenue in Ireland.

the oath of Supremacy; and further, a promise was given, but not confirmed to a formal parliament, that possession for sixty years was to be treated as conveying a complete title to land. In return for this concession, known as the 'Graces,' an irregular assembly of magnates and county representatives promised to provide £40,000 for three years. Wentworth, on his appointment to the deputyship, but before his arrival in Ireland, procured another year's contribution by implying that the Catholics would thereby secure favourable treatment from him. On his arrival he procured yet another year's contribution by the promise of summoning parliament. In 1634 the parliament was duly summoned, and, in the expectation of having the Graces confirmed, voted subsidies amounting to £270,000. But when, after a prorogation, the assembly met again in August, Wentworth refused to confirm the Graces. He had in view a new plantation in Connaught, where a vast amount of land was held only by the sixty years' title. By repudiating the promise, which had never received actual statutory confirmation, he was able to confiscate a quantity of land, not without coercing the courts which investigated the titles, and to mulct the actual possessors heavily. Incidentally the city of London was alienated by the demand of a very heavy fine for failure to fulfil the conditions upon which Londonderry and the county appertaining thereto had been granted to it in the previous reign. By such means Wentworth obtained the funds necessary for organising and equipping an effective army.

Connaught.

But while Wentworth was so dealing with Ireland as to transform it into an instrument for the service of the Crown, Charles and Laud had been so dealing with Scotland as to produce in that country a precisely contrary effect. We have observed that the old king, James, had established an unprecedented ascendency for the Crown by carefully conciliating the magnates, and retaining their interest on the side of the Crown as against the ministers; and at the same time he had established, through his extension of the episcopate, a control over an ecclesiastical system still mainly Presbyterian. In advancing the Anglican ritual he had gone

Scotland: the new Church policy.

as far as he dared, but had not transgressed the actual borderline of the popular endurance of innovations. Charles, however, had hardly ascended the throne when he alienated the magnates and the gentry, and drove them into the arms of the Presbyterians, by the revocation to the Crown of all grants of ecclesiastical land made since 1542. A portion of the revenues was to be appropriated to the clergy, and the holders of the lands were to receive compensation. Now the 'teinds,' the Scottish equivalent of English 'tithes,' had passed into the hands of 'Titulars of Teind,' laymen who had no other connection with the lands. The final result of the revocation was that the landowners were enabled to buy back a portion of the teinds at a low price; but in effect the Titulars of Teind got only about two years' purchase, and the landowners only ten years' purchase, to compensate them for the revocation; while the clergy, though there was more money provided for them, got it only at the cost of an increase of the royal control. Therefore the clergy were not conciliated, and an immense body of landowners were driven into hostility to the Crown and sympathy with the clergy.

The Act of Revocation.

James, in his treatment of the Kirk, had been actuated entirely by political motives; Charles was actuated by religious convictions which impelled him to force his own Anglicanism upon his Scottish subjects. In 1633 he visited Scotland, taking with him Laud, who was not yet archbishop. The Scots had been alarmed by the ritual which James had adopted; the ritual they now witnessed alarmed them still more. James, content to have bishops, had appointed Calvinists; Charles had already begun to appoint bishops of Laud's school. A Scottish parliament was summoned; bills were laid before it confirming the Acts of the last reign and the revocation, bills which it was required to pass or to reject all together. It was induced with difficulty to pass them. When Charles left Scotland, Lord Balmerino took the lead in preparing a protest; for presenting the protest he was prosecuted for treason, though the punishment inflicted was a mild one.

1633. Charles and Laud in Scotland.

In 1636 a new Laudian Book of Canons was issued with the royal authority, and without reference to the Scottish parliament or General Assembly, or even to the bishops. The canons asserted the royal and episcopal authority, ignored the Presbyterian system, and enjoined a new service-book drawn up by the Laudian bishops and revised in England. An extraordinary Court of High Commission was set up. Before the end of the year the Scottish council ordered the adoption of the service-book in every parish. In the spring of 1637 it was published; in July it was read for the first time in the Edinburgh cathedral church of St. Giles, several bishops and lords of the council attending. The reading of the new liturgy was the signal for the outbreak of a wild riot in the church, when, according to tradition, a woman named Jeannie Geddes threw her stool at the bishop and hit the dean.

1636-7. New canons and liturgy.

The bishops themselves were less than half-hearted; it was immediately obvious that one-half of the clergy throughout the country would ignore the order to use the Liturgy, and the other half would not be allowed to use it by their congregations. Petitions poured in; a great body of commissioners was appointed, of ministers, representatives from every shire and borough, and a few noblemen. The commissioners appointed four committees called the Tables, one from each of the four bodies represented, nobles, ministers, gentry, and citizens. The draft of a National Covenant was drawn up, based on the precedent of the covenant of 1581 which James VI. had subscribed, binding the signatories to reject Romish doctrines and to defend the National Church. The Covenant professed the utmost loyalty to the Crown, but repudiated all innovations not sanctioned by free general assemblies and free parliaments. The signing of the Covenant began in Edinburgh on 28th February 1638; before a couple of months had passed it had been signed by practically the whole nation.

The Tables.

1638. The National Covenant.

In the face of an opposition so unanimous, the king was persuaded to negotiate with the Covenanters through the marquis

of Hamilton. Hamilton, going to and fro, induced the king to promise a General Assembly and a parliament, even to declare his readiness to withdraw the Liturgy and the Book of Canons, and to abolish his recently appointed Court of High Commission. The king meant the General Assembly to consist of clergy only, and to include the bishops. The Assembly elected included laymen and excluded bishops. In spite of threats the Assembly met at Glasgow in November; Hamilton dissolved it, and retired with all the Privy Councillors except the earl of Argyll. The Assembly ignored the dissolution, continued its sitting, abolished episcopacy, and condemned not only the Canons and the new Prayer Book but also the old Articles of Perth.

The Glasgow Assembly.

The Scots had defied the Crown, and Charles resolved to coerce them. He could do so only by means of an English army. The treasury was empty, and only a very insufficient sum could be raised by a fourth writ of ship-money. He was reduced to the desperate expedient of calling up the levies of the northern counties. The troops so assembled were undisciplined and wholly uninterested in the quarrel, and they had no commanders of experience. The Scots, sternly in earnest, armed at once; among them were numbers of veterans who had served as mercenaries under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany; they were led by an experienced captain, Alexander Leslie, himself a disciple of that great soldier. Leslie seized Edinburgh; the young earl of Montrose captured Aberdeen, almost the only place in the north which was on the king's side. Leslie marched to Dunselaw, near Berwick. Charles realised that to attempt battle would be to court disaster; the Scots had no wish to fight, being confident in their own strength. Charles's last effort to raise money by voluntary contributions had produced only £20,000. Commissions on both sides met, and on 18th June the first 'Bishops' war' was terminated by the Treaty of Berwick. Charles agreed that a new free General Assembly was to have the settlement of ecclesiastical matters, and a new free parliament was to determine other questions as well as passing an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. On the other side

1639. The first 'Bishops' war.'

the 'Tables,' which, although they had no legal status whatever, had assumed the functions of a government, were to be dissolved, and both armies were to be disbanded.

Neither side was at any great pains to carry out the agreement. The royal proclamation calling the General Assembly summoned to it the bishops and archbishops. The Covenanters protested. The Assembly met and confirmed the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly. Charles announced that he would repeal none of the statutes by which episcopacy had been established. The parliament answered by demanding that the Scottish fortresses should be placed in the hands of commanders approved by the Scots. Charles prorogued the parliament.

The breach widens.

In the emergency Charles had turned to Wentworth, whom he summoned to his aid from Ireland. Wentworth came, but his long absence had put him out of touch with feeling in Great Britain. He misapprehended the temper both of Scots and English. He thought the Scottish resistance could be easily quelled, and that an English parliament would grant the money needed by the king; if it did not, its refusal would warrant the straining of the royal prerogative to the utmost. He recommended the calling of a parliament and the forcible suppression of the Scots. The Council, led by him, offered a loan of £300,000, Wentworth heading the subscription with £20,000. His ambition was gratified by the title of earl of Strafford and the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, instead of the deputyship. In March he returned to that country in order to supply the king with an Irish force, and to procure money from an Irish parliament.

Wentworth returns from Ireland.

1640.

IV. The Storm Gathers, 1640-1642

Strafford's Irish parliament answered to his call, without even awaiting his arrival, in a manner which proved the completeness of the ascendency he had established. It voted the subsidy of £160,000 for which it was asked, expressed its readiness to give all that the king might

1640. Strafford.

require, and proclaimed the completeness of its confidence in Strafford; but even thus it did not compensate the loss the king suffered by the earl's temporary departure from his side. Except Laud, none among the men who surrounded Charles was friendly to the imperious lord-lieutenant, and the king was swayed by the men who surrounded him.

Parliament met in April; three weeks later it was dissolved. Whether men of the old parliament or newcomers, the great majority of the members were of the Opposition; that is, they were on the side of the Puritans in matters ecclesiastical, and on the side of the Commons on the constitutional question. English Puritanism sympathised with the Scots. As yet the Moderates, such as Hyde and Falkland, who were one day to join the king, stood shoulder to shoulder with Pym the implacable and imperturbable, John Hampden who had refused to pay ship-money, and such uncompromising Puritans as Oliver Cromwell, member for Cambridge.

The Short Parliament, April.

The king invited the Commons to grant tonnage and poundage as from the beginning of the reign, and subsidies for the Scots war, after which they might proceed to grievances. The Commons reversed the order, Pym at once stepping into the place of leader. They proposed a conference on grievances with the Lords. The king came down to the Lords, whom he persuaded to adopt a resolution that supplies should precede grievances, a vote which the Commons regarded as a breach of privilege. The king consented to a reversal by the Lords in their judicial capacity of the ship-money judgment; the secretary, Sir Henry Vane, suggested that the Commons should respond by voting twelve subsidies; Strafford, back from Ireland, advised that no definite sum should be asked. Hyde proposed that the House should vote on the general question of granting a supply. Vane announced that nothing less than twelve subsidies, £840,000, would be accepted. It became known to the king that the Commons intended to discuss the Scottish question before voting; and against Strafford's advice he at once dissolved what is known as the Short Parliament.

Very unsuccessful efforts were made to raise money. The clergy in convocation made grants, and committed themselves to pronouncements on the duty of non-resistance, which only tended to increase anticlerical feeling. Miscellaneous troops were raked together; the gentry could hardly be trusted to command them. In Scotland, on the other hand, the parliament, which disregarded the prorogation, reassembled, and confirmed the proceedings of the previous year. It placed the administration in the hands of a Committee of Estates, which dealt as sternly with disaffection wherever it showed itself as if it had been a government with every constitutional sanction, and with a Strafford to direct it. As before, the Scots brought into the field a force which had a strong nucleus of disciplined veterans and a mass of men who were grimly ready to submit themselves to discipline in a cause to which they were enthusiastically devoted. Leslie prepared to invade England, announcing that he was coming not to attack the English, but solely to claim the redress of grievances. Strafford was again recalled from Ireland to take command in the North, but his natural vigour was paralysed by sickness.

Preparations for a Scots war.

On 20th August the Scots crossed the Tweed. On the 28th an English force attempted to hold a ford on the Tyne at Newburn, but was easily put to rout by the advancing Scots. Strafford's conviction that the country was really ready to rally to the king was woefully dissipated. Charles in desperation summoned a council of the peers at York, vainly hoping thereby to escape the necessity of calling a parliament for which London was petitioning. A commission of peers was nominated to negotiate with the Scots, who demanded that they should remain in arms in the North, and should be paid £850 per diem until a definite treaty should be made. Their terms were accepted at Ripon, and in the meanwhile, by advice of the peers, the writs had been issued summoning the Long Parliament, which met on 3rd November. Charles returned to London.

The Scots in England, August.

It was certain that the parliament would concentrate on an attack upon Strafford. In the earl's own judgment, the right

place for him now, entirely apart from personal considerations, was Ireland, where he could complete that organisation of forces for the king which had been interrupted by the summons to take command at York. But Charles dared not part with him, and pledged his word that he would suffer no harm to befall his great servant. Worn and ill as he was, Strafford proceeded to London to urge the king to strike first, and forthwith to charge the parliamentary leaders with treasonable correspondence with the Scots. The king hesitated, Pym seized his opportunity, and the Commons, debating with locked doors, resolved to confer with the Lords as to bringing a charge against Strafford himself; pending which they invited the peers to arrest the earl at once. Strafford, coming down to the House, was immediately placed in custody.

The Long Parliament meets, 3rd November.

Arrest of Strafford, 10th November.

The destruction of Strafford and the events bearing upon it must take precedence of all else in the story of the Long Parliament, as it overshadowed all else at the time. The earl was arrested on 11th November; on the 25th he was sent to the Tower. On that day the preliminary charges of the House of Commons against him were laid before the Lords. Strafford was accused of a traitorous attempt 'to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England and Ireland,' and to compel the country by force of arms to submit to an arbitrary government against the law. This was the head and front of his offending. Fundamental laws had never been heard of before, but in fact Strafford's position was unprecedented. Obviously, in the ordinary usage of the terms, he had committed no treason against the Crown; on the contrary, all his efforts had been directed to strengthening the Crown. What men felt was that he had committed treason against the nation, and it was only by identifying the Crown not with the king but with the nation, that it was possible to translate into treason the attempt to establish arbitrary power. Two months passed before the formal articles of impeachment were laid before the peers, and still another two months elapsed before the trial actually opened on 22nd March.

The impeachment; its meaning.

The attack was led by Pym. The case rested upon acts done in Ireland by Strafford by which the law was overridden, but it was no easy task to give either such individual acts or the accumulation of them the character of treason. The prosecution relied upon the story that Strafford in the Privy Council told the king that 'he had an army in Ireland which he might employ to reduce this kingdom.' The secretary, Sir Henry Vane, had made notes of a meeting of the Privy Council, wherein he recorded the employment of those words by Strafford. Sir Henry was a king's man who bore bitter personal grudges against Strafford on more counts than one. His son, the younger Vane, a zealous Puritan and parliamentarian, had made a copy of the notes which had themselves been destroyed. Although the Commons had obtained from the peers an order enabling them to examine the Privy Councillors upon oath, Henry Vane was the only one who would testify that the words ascribed to the earl had been spoken by him. Thus there was only one witness, not the two required by the law to support evidence of treason. Further, supposing the words to have been used, the presumption certainly was that 'this kingdom' meant not England but Scotland, since the leading question of the time was how the Scots were to be brought to obedience. Scotland was a separate kingdom from England; the coercion of the Scots by an army from Ireland could by no possibility be twisted into treason by an English parliament; and finally, it was a serious problem for the lawyers to demonstrate that, even if the words were proved to have been used in the sense suggested, it could be construed as legal treason that he advised the king to coerce his own subjects.

1641. The trial, March.

Weakness of the legal case.

As the trial proceeded, it became more and more obvious that if the peers discharged their functions simply as interpreters of the law, the impeachment would fail because the charge of treason could not be made good. Strafford conducted his defence with extraordinary ability, and it was manifest that his destruction was aimed at, not because he had broken the law of treason, but because he had committed against

An acquittal probable.

the nation an offence which no statutes recognised—the offence of attempting to set the king above the law.

When on 10th April the Lords adjourned the further hearing of the trial for an indefinite period, the stalwarts in the Commons came to a momentous resolution. They would not risk the defeat of the impeachment, but would proceed against the earl by Bill of Attainder. In other words, Strafford was to be condemned to death by a special Act of parliament. In plain terms, he was to be destroyed as a public enemy; he could not be destroyed under the law as it stood, and therefore a special law must be made to deal with him. Both Pym and Hampden disapproved the procedure. But the feeling of the Commons was too strong. On the third reading the bill was carried almost by four to one; and Pym, Hampden, and even Falkland voted with the majority.

A Bill of Attainder introduced.

The fate of the bill in the House of Lords was doubtful; it seemed that the majority were anxious to save Strafford's life. The second reading was passed, but it was not certain that the third reading would be. The scale was turned by the revelation of what was called the Army Plot. Pym told the House of Commons that he and the other leaders had been warned of a plot to turn the army against parliament. The troops in the north had not been disbanded, pending the definitive treaty with the Scots. Some of the officers had made a compact to bring the army to the king's aid if he were too hard pressed. A separate plot had been formed to set the earl of Newcastle and George Goring at the head of the army, and bring it up to London. When it was attempted to amalgamate the two plots, the officers refused the proposed change of the command, and Goring in dudgeon betrayed the scheme, though with the condition that his action should be kept secret. The story created a panic; it became a popular belief that there was a huge conspiracy, with the queen and the Catholics at the back of it. The populace clamoured for Strafford's head. The king had made matters worse by trying to intervene and persuade the Houses to drop the Bill of Attainder, and then by an attempt

The Army Plot, April.

to place in the Tower a body of troops upon whom he could himself rely. The Commons demanded an inquiry into the Army Plot, and some of its ringleaders fled to France. The Lords, by a small majority, passed the third reading of the bill.

The peers pass the bill.

For a hundred years after the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses Acts of attainder had been familiar; great men had been sent to the scaffold without trial by Act of parliament. But in every case the initiative had lain with the Crown or the ministers of the Crown, and the victim had suffered on the charge of plotting against or resisting the authority of the king *de facto*, an offence specifically recognised as treason by the law of the land. But the Bill of Attainder against Strafford charged him with plotting, not to resist or to overturn the king's authority, but to extend it. It created a new offence, which at the time that it had been committed had not been recognised by the law as an offence at all. The attainder implied that the supreme authority—not the king, nor the House of Commons, nor even the two Houses of Parliament, but the king in parliament—might override the law altogether when an emergency arose which the law had never contemplated. That was the constitutional justification of the bill.

Its novel character.

It placed Charles in a position for which there was no precedent; for the Crown was called upon to assent to the execution of its own minister for seeking to enlarge its own powers by methods to which the king himself had assented. Neither the power nor the credit of the Crown could survive such a surrender. The king's honour was pledged up to the hilt to protect Strafford; he had passed his word that not a hair of the great minister's head should be touched. Yet not a voice was raised to urge Charles to take the manful course and stand at all risks by the man who at all risks had stood by him. The courtiers hated the arrogant strong man who had never concealed his contempt for them. The queen was intensely jealous of his influence, and the mob was clamouring that only Strafford's head should save the queen herself. Laud's voice was silenced, for he too was in the Tower;

The king's dilemma.

The great betrayal.

the panic-stricken bishops in the Council, with the exception of Juxon, urged on the sacrifice; Strafford's own passionate loyalty made him write to the king advising his assent, though even then the earl could hardly believe in the possibility of the great betrayal. The tortured king humbled himself before his enemies; Strafford should be dismissed, banished from the court, shut out of office of every kind; in vain. The royal assent was given, the warrant was signed, and on 12th May Charles's doom was sealed with the blood of Strafford.

In those six months the Commons had not concerned themselves only with Strafford. They had followed up the attack on the earl by assailing the Secretary Windebank and the Lord Keeper Finch, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons when it was dissolved in 1629, and as a judge had upheld the most extreme views of the royal prerogative. Both Windebank and Finch fled the country. The impeachment of Laud was resolved upon, and he was sent to the Tower. Prynne and his associates were liberated. Resolutions were passed condemning ship-money, and insisting upon the stringent application of the recusancy laws which for some years had been practically suspended.

1640. Proceedings of the parliament.

In the beginning of 1641 the king was forced to accept a Triennial Act which required that parliament should be summoned at least once in three years, and that when it was summoned it should sit without being prorogued or dissolved for at least fifty days. If the king failed to issue the writs, the peers were to do it. If the peers failed, the sheriffs were to hold the elections as though the writs had been issued. If the sheriffs failed, the freeholders and burgesses were to carry through the elections on their own account. In May a supplementary bill was passed forbidding the dissolution of the present parliament except with its own consent. It received the royal assent on the same day as the bill of Strafford's attainder.

1641. A Triennial Act.

In the months following Strafford's execution: on 12th May, bills were passed abolishing all the arbitrary courts—the Star

Chamber, and the Courts of the Council of the North, the Council of Wales, and High Commission. Other bills prohibited all those methods of raising money which had been called in question, impositions, tonnage and poundage, ship-money, distraint of knighthood, and the rest, while tonnage and poundage was actually granted for the year. Before the end of August the Scots were paid off, a treaty was signed, and the Scottish army retired.

The machinery of absolutism abolished, May-September.

In all this, the statutory abolition of the powers by which the Crown had sought to free itself from parliamentary control, the Commons were practically unanimous. It was not so with the ecclesiastical question. Puritan petitions had been pouring into the House ever since the session began; and these resulted in a comparatively moderate bill for removing the bishops from the House of Lords. The peers themselves threw out the bill, but before they had done so a new bill was brought into the Commons, called the Root and Branch Bill, to abolish episcopacy altogether. The bill was passed in the Commons, but was never carried to the Upper House; for it brought to light a cleavage between ecclesiastical parties, and created in both Houses a moderate party which subsequently became royalist. There was a large body of constitutionalists, headed by Falkland and Edward Hyde, who many years afterwards became Lord Clarendon, which was firmly attached to the Church of England and the Anglican system; whereas the advanced Puritans were already becoming divided between the advocates of Presbyterian uniformity and the advocates of Independency, who rejected the compulsory uniformity of worship, but were hardly less intolerant of the prelacy in any shape than of unqualified papistry. Culture, 'sweetness and light,' found their representatives chiefly among the moderates, though by no means all of them were characterised by such qualities. They stood to the Puritan movement somewhat as Thomas More and the Humanists stood to the Protestant movement; as prelatists they became inevitably monarchists when all hope of compromise had vanished; but they had not yet realised that the forces which were about

Attack on episcopacy.

Cleavage.

to grapple were too fiercely antagonistic to permit of compromise. And in the meanwhile their anxiety was increased, and the cleavage deepened, as they saw the Puritan majority of the Commons interfering directly with ceremonial, church observances, images, and church ornaments.

In September the Houses adjourned. In August, when the English and Scottish armies in the north were both on the point of disbanding, Charles started on a visit to his northern kingdom. With him went commissioners, appointed by 'ordinance' of parliament, the idea having prevailed that the effective ordinances of mediæval times were not royal but parliamentary instruments, a hypothesis extremely convenient for adoption by the Long Parliament. The commissioners were intended to observe the king's proceedings with a jealous eye, and their presence was not calculated to soothe his resentment at the humiliations to which he was subjected. Nor was there much consolation to be found in the state of affairs in Scotland. Argyll, an unattractive personality, but a politician of some subtlety, had acquired an ascendency among the zealous Covenanters not at all to the liking of the less zealous magnates—and highly offensive, as it presently proved, to the numerous clans who were jealous of the Campbell influence. Montrose, whose chivalrous and romantic temperament was not at all at home among the grim Presbyterians with whom he had at first cast in his lot, was eager to break Argyll's ascendency; Hamilton, endeavouring to obtain favour with both parties, failed with both. Argyll got Montrose shut up as a plotter; Montrose, from his confinement, told the king that Argyll and Hamilton were both traitors. Charles had hardly got into Scotland when a plot was revealed, in which Montrose may, or may not, have been implicated, for kidnapping and possibly killing both Argyll and Hamilton. Instead of a thorough investigation into the affair, which is commonly referred to as 'the Incident,' an attempt was made at a formal reconciliation; Montrose was released, but Hamilton was made a duke, while Argyll's earldom was raised to a marquisate, and Alexander Leslie, the general of

Charles visits Scotland, August-November.

The 'Incident.'

the Covenant, was created earl of Leven. The practical result was the confirmation of Argyll's ascendency, and the appropriation of administrative offices to his nominees. In November Charles returned to England.

Meanwhile, however, a sudden conflagration had burst forth in another quarter. In Ireland Wentworth's strong hand had held down disorder; so long as his return was possible, the fear of him kept the country quiet. But Strafford's system needed Strafford. The Catholic population nursed bitter wrath against the alien Protestant colonists planted among them, for whose benefit they had been robbed. The Puritan settlers, thousands of whom were Scottish Presbyterians, resented the Anglicanism imposed on them by Wentworth, as well as the monarchist principles upon which his government rested. The Protestant magnates, together with many of the Catholics, were loyalists; but insurrection was brewing among the resentful Catholic magnates in the outlying regions. What they hoped to effect, unless it was a return to the pre-Elizabethan state of affairs, it is difficult to say; but at the end of October the existence of a conspiracy became known. The authorities seized some of the chiefs. The spark had dropped, and an unorganised insurrection blazed out. The peasantry rose and massacred large numbers of the alien interlopers, while numbers more who escaped immediate death were driven forth naked from their ruined homes. The army had already been disbanded at the instance of the English parliament, and the Irish government was wholly unable to cope with the situation.

The Irish insurrection, October.

The Houses had reassembled in England on 20th October. They were met by the report of the Incident in Scotland, which at once aroused suspicions that some *coup de main* was in contemplation for England—perhaps the king's journey to the north merely veiled a plot for collecting there troops with which parliament was to be coerced. On minds already prone to suspicion the news from Ireland burst like a thunderclap, news in which the actual facts, hideous enough, were portentously exaggerated. The thousands who

Panic in England.

had been murdered or done to death in a wild and uncontrolled uprising were multiplied into tens and hundreds of thousands. The Irish, according to Elizabethan tradition, were bloodthirsty savages of the lowest type, capable of every atrocity. English Puritanism remembered the massacre of St. Bartholomew not as a ghastly outbreak of unbridled frenzy, but as typical of the methods of popery. There was a fierce immediate outcry for vengeance upon the wild Irish, and an insensate clamour that the whole thing was part and parcel of a plot for the restoration of popery with the queen at the bottom of it. To the Puritan mob, the queen, the Catholics, the king, the bishops, and the moderates, were all in one category. Even sober Puritans suspected the machinations of English papists at the back of the Irish rising, or connected it with some design of the king's for using Ireland, as Strafford had meant to use it, as a base of operations for restoring the supremacy of the Crown. And Englishmen of all political shades called for the immediate suppression of the insurgents.

The problem of an army.

But here a problem at once presented itself. An army, a strong army, was imperatively required to crush the Irish. If such an army were raised and placed in the king's hands, what would he do with it when the Irish were crushed? Clearly, from the point of view of the parliament men, the army must be raised, but must never be placed in the king's hands. So while the king was journeying from Scotland, Pym procured a resolution first for raising a force of 8000 men, and secondly for retaining the control of that force in its own hands, unless the king should consent to be guided by counsellors acceptable to parliament. A claim so unprecedented required public justification in the eyes of the world; and to that end Pym, Hampden, and their supporters drew up the Grand Remonstrance, which was virtually a detailed indictment of the king's misgovernment since the beginning of his reign, a statement of the reforms still needed after the work already accomplished by the present parliament, and a demand for new advisers. In brief, the Remonstrance set forth the case of the Commons

The Grand Remonstrance, November.

for distrusting the king in terms which virtually amounted to a demand for the complete abdication of the royal authority.

The Grand Remonstrance completed the cleavage. The moderates had been stoutly opposed to arbitrary government; Falkland and Hyde had supported the earlier measures of the Long Parliament, though they had resisted the attack upon episcopacy. They had taken an active part in the overthrow of Strafford. But they had never intended the royal authority to perish; they had never intended to substitute the absolute control of parliament for the absolute control of the Crown, which was implicit in the Grand Remonstrance. For Pym and Hampden no compromise was possible. The direct issue had been reached. Parliament must be absolutely supreme, because the king, so long as he had any power at all, would never rest till he was supreme. Falkland and Hyde still believed in a constitutional solution; but failing the constitutional solution which was barred by the Grand Remonstrance, they would choose the royalist alternative.

The Remonstrance carried, 22nd November.

On 22nd November the Remonstrance was finally discussed. After long and passionate debate, it was carried by a majority of eleven. A motion that it should be printed and published was postponed, but the minority demanded that their own protest against the Remonstrance should be recorded. There was a scene of wild tumult in which swords were drawn, and blood would have been spilt on the floor of the House but for the interposition of Hampden. When the House rose Cromwell declared that if the Remonstrance had not been carried he and those who thought with him would have left England for ever.

Charles returns to London, 25th November.

On the third day after the stormy scene, Charles arrived in London. If during the past month political passion had risen to an unprecedented height, and the Puritan Opposition had been worked up to a pitch of irreconcilable suspicion and indignation, the moderate reaction had for many months been gaining ground, rendered all the more active by the vehemence of the Opposition. If Charles had understood his fellow men, if he had known how to assume a conciliatory attitude, if he had been a man capable

of inspiring confidence, he might even now have snatched victory out of defeat. But in him the skill and tact, the insight in a complex situation, which were above all things necessary in the circumstances, were totally lacking. He may have been misled into the belief that the reaction in his favour was already triumphant outside the parliament house; for in past parliaments the Opposition had never, as now, carried their adverse votes by merely fractional majorities. Perhaps if the phrase had been then invented he would have called the vote on the Grand Remonstrance a 'moral victory' for the Crown.

The Commons were pressing their numerical victory by carrying a bill for raising soldiers for Ireland, to which they appended a bill for the appointment of a lord general and a lord admiral in whom, and not in the king, the control of the force was to be vested. When the bill came before the Lords, the king interposed with a demand for its modification, an unconstitutional course which at once roused the resentment of the peers. When the first news of the Irish insurrection arrived, the Commons had procured a military guard to protect them against the violence which they feared. The king withdrew the guard, and at the same time gave the command of the Tower to the roystering soldier, Colonel Lunsford. The Commons pressed forward the second of their army or militia bills. The city of London, strongly in favour of the parliament, was almost in a state of insurrection; there were fresh riots against the bishops. Charles was obliged to cancel Lunsford's appointment, and the Commons renewed their demand for a guard, to be commanded by the earl of Essex. The mob prevented the bishops from attending the House of Lords, and the bishops entered a protest against all proceedings in their absence. Charles attempted a show of conciliation by inviting Pym, Falkland, Hyde, and Culpepper to accept office. Falkland and Culpepper did so; Pym refused; Hyde did not take office, but joined the king as an adviser.

The king's mistakes.

The uneasiness.

These overtures were made on 1st January 1642; but Charles was in fact preparing a *coup d'état*. On the 3rd he laid before the peers articles of impeachment against Lord Kimbolton, who

presently succeeded to the earldom of Manchester, and five members of the House of Commons, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrigg, and Strode. The Lords declined to order their arrest. At the same time Charles refused the Commons a guard, while promising on the word of a king that he himself would protect them. Also by his order the rooms of the accused members were sealed. The alarmed House sent a message to the city urging the trained bands to be in readiness to defend them; the Lords ordered the sealed rooms to be opened. The sergeant-at-arms came with an order to arrest the five members; the Commons refused to permit the arrest as contrary to their privileges.

1642. **The five members impeached, 3rd January.**

On the 4th Lords and Commons condemned the articles of impeachment as a scandalous paper. In the afternoon the king came down in person to the House of Commons with some hundreds of armed followers, to arrest the five members; but the House had received warning, and they had already been sent off by boat to safe quarters in the city. Charles entered the chamber, accompanied by his young nephew, Charles Lewis, the Elector Palatine; through the open doors the members saw the troop of Cavaliers in the lobby—the terms Cavalier and Roundhead had already come into vogue during the last few days. The king passed to the Speaker's chair, looked round, and saw that the five members were not present; the Speaker, Lenthall, on being asked if any of them were there, fell on his knees and replied that he had neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak anything save what the House should direct. With words which could only be construed as a threat, the king left the chamber with cries of 'Privilege' ringing in his ears.

The attempted arrest, 4th January.

Next day the king attempted to arrest the members at the city Guildhall, with no better success. The Commons adjourned for a week, after appointing a committee to sit not at Westminster, but at the Guildhall. The city trained bands came out to protect them. On the 11th the members returned to Westminster, and the king and his family left London, not to return till the great Civil

Charles leaves London, 11th January.

War was over. The display of force on the side of parliament had been so overwhelming during these days that Charles dared no longer remain.

The Civil War was now inevitable. For some months negotiations continued to pass between king and parliament, but the distrust on both sides was too great for a compromise to be possible; neither could afford to leave the other the least chance of snatching control. Both accompanied the negotiations by preparations for war. Charles sent the queen abroad to raise money upon the Crown jewels, and to seek foreign support from Denmark or Holland; for the year before Charles had married his daughter Mary to young William of Orange, the son of the Stadtholder, who was all but king in the United Provinces. The Houses appointed new lord-lieutenants in the shires, instructed the sheriffs to call out the trained bands, and issued an ordinance giving the command of the troops to officers who were to be named later. Almost every one of the ports was in the hands of parliamentarians; the king made an attempt to secure Hull, but the other party were beforehand with him. By April Charles had withdrawn to the north, where he hoped to find loyalism strong, and thither the Royalists began to stream, as it became increasingly certain that no accommodation was possible. But Sir John Hotham refused to admit him into Hull. On 2nd June Charles received what was practically the parliamentary ultimatum, demands couched in the 'Nineteen Propositions,' by assenting to which he would have surrendered every shred of royal power.

Preparations.

Parliament had captured the normal machinery for calling out the shire levies; the king issued commissions of array, appointing his own officers to the command of the militia. The Houses passed a vote to raise a force of ten thousand men under the command of the earl of Essex. On 22nd August Charles unfurled his standard at Nottingham.

Civil War, 22nd August.

CHAPTER XII. THE GREAT REBELLION
1642-1649

I. The First Civil War, 1642-1646

Neither geographically nor socially can a definite line of demarcation be drawn between the areas and classes who sided with the king or with the parliament. The Civil War was no contest between rich and poor or between north and south. There was no class in the community which lacked representatives on both sides. There was no town without Royalist burgesses and no county without Roundhead landholders. There were Royalists who, until 1641, would even have been numbered among the Puritans, when Puritanism was still compatible with approval of episcopacy. But there were certain broad determining factors. The areas where Puritanism was strong supported the parliament, and the areas where Romanism survived, or where Puritanism had not taken deep root, supported the king. Everywhere the tendency was for large towns to favour Puritanism and parliament, and for the country gentry, whose traditions were not in accord with Puritan ideals of conduct, to favour the Crown. Hence a broad generalisation gives the north and the west of England, beyond the Humber and beyond the Severn, to the Royalists, and England east of a line drawn from Hull to Portsmouth to the Roundheads, leaving the rest of the country indefinite, broken up into patches according to the predilections of local magnates. The eastern counties had always been the most open to popular movements and to Puritan influences, from Wat Tyler to Robert Ket; the north and west had clung longest to feudal traditions and to the old faith; and after the first stage of the war Cornwall and Devon were for Church and king.

1642. Distribution of Cavaliers and Roundheads.

as well as Wales, the western midlands, and England north of the Humber. Yet even in the heart of the Cavalier country, towns like Manchester, Gloucester, and Taunton held by the parliament, as did very nearly every seaport and the mariners of the fleet. To this last fact much of the strength of parliament must be attributed. Parliament held the command of the sea, cut off the Royalists from the Continent, prevented the blockade of the coast towns, and last but not least, secured for itself the revenue from customs.

Command of the sea.

There was no trained army in existence to turn the scale on one side or the other. On both sides there were men who had seen service in the wars in the Low Countries or in Germany. Every gentleman was a trained horseman and swordsman. But there was no professional soldiery. The militia, the shire levies, were practically untrained; the only trained bands in the country which had acquired some real discipline were those of London. Since the Cavaliers had a much larger proportion of gentlemen, and the Roundheads a much larger proportion of trained bands, it followed that the advantage at the outset lay with the Cavaliers, who had at least the military tradition which in some sort served to take the place of discipline against an undisciplined foe. That there was splendid fighting material on both sides was shown even in the first stages of the war; in the course of it the material was shaped into some of the best regiments in Europe; but until the reorganisation of the parliamentary army under Cromwell and Fairfax, the war is singularly lacking in interest to the military student.

The forces.

The troops assembled at Nottingham were much fewer than the parliamentary army which was gathering at Northampton. Charles could not at once open an attack; he moved to the west where reinforcements poured in, while Essex moved upon Worcester. From Shrewsbury Charles began a march upon London. Essex moved eastward to intercept him. At Edgehill the two armies met on 23rd October. They were drawn up in similar formation, with the infantry regiments in the centre and the cavalry on the wings. The king's young nephew, Rupert of the Palatinate, brother of the

Edgehill, 23rd October.

Elector Palatine, commanded the Royalist right wing, Wilmot the left. On both wings their charge swept all before it in headlong flight, with the Cavalier horse in headlong pursuit. But a few of the Roundhead horse on the right were not swept away. If Rupert and Wilmot had halted and turned they might have crashed upon the Roundhead infantry and destroyed it; but they did not return till it was too late. The Roundhead infantry held their own against the Royalists, the surviving body of horse dashed in, and victory on the whole lay with the Roundheads—who should have been utterly crushed if Rupert had understood the whole of his business instead of only half of it.

Nevertheless Essex, instead of pressing the attack, fell back towards Warwick; Charles continued his march to Oxford, which from that time remained the Royalist headquarters. Thence he marched towards London, but Essex had passed him and reached the city first. The parliamentary forces were thrown forward to cover the approach, the advance guard occupying Brentford, where Rupert attacked them and drove them out. Turnham Green, however, was held in force, and the Royalists had to fall back to Oxford.

Turnham Green.

In the north the earl of Newcastle raised troops for the king, while Lord Fairfax was chosen to the command for the parliament. Fairfax swept the Royalist gentry of Yorkshire into York, to which he laid siege, but Newcastle arriving drove him off, overran the greater part of the country, and confined the parliamentary forces to Hull, Bradford, and Leeds, and the neighbourhood.

The north.

In the south-west the parliamentarians imagined themselves to be predominant, but the position was reversed by the skill and vigour displayed by Sir Ralph Hopton, whose rapid movements at the head of a small force swept the Roundheads out of the open country into the towns before the end of December.

The south-west.

During the first months of 1643 the futile negotiations known as the Treaty of Oxford were passing between the king and the parliament, which continued to sit at Westminster, though several of its members were in the field, and the majority

1643.

of the peers were in arms for the king. But each side was prepared to offer only terms which the other could by no possibility accept. Meanwhile Newcastle's grip on the north was tightening, the fighting in the south-west went favourably for Hopton, and excursions from Oxford were clearing the western midlands. But Oliver Cromwell, who had distinguished himself in the command of a troop of horse at Edgehill, had withdrawn to his own country in the eastern counties, and was organising the Eastern Counties Association, as Newcastle had organised the Royalist Association of the northern counties. Essex, with the main parliamentary army, remained on the defensive, covering London; on 17th June the parliamentary party lost one of its wisest and most respected chiefs when John Hampden was killed in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, where he had sought to intercept Rupert in a cavalry raid. In Yorkshire Fairfax, unaided by Hotham in Hull who was on the point of surrendering that stronghold to the Royalists, struggled valiantly but vainly to hold back Newcastle, and was himself driven in upon Hull, which his arrival saved for the parliament. Hotham himself had been arrested just in time to prevent him from effecting the surrender, and Fairfax took his place in the command, but for the time being was paralysed for aggression. In Devon and Somerset Hopton continued to operate successfully for the king; and Sir William Waller, the skilful parliamentary commander who was sent to hold him in check, was unable to defeat him. Hopton, after a successful fight at Lansdown Hill, near Bath, marched to join the king at Oxford, with Waller hanging on his rear. Reinforced by some troops from Oxford, Hopton inflicted a complete defeat upon Waller at Roundway Down, near Devizes. The success cleared the way for a new move. Rupert joined him with fresh troops from Oxford, and the force advanced upon Bristol, which was held for the parliament. That important city was very ill-defended, and when Rupert opened the attack on 26th July, a fortnight after Roundway Down, the commander, Nathaniel Fiennes, promptly surrendered.

Campaigns, January-July.

Chalgrove Field, 17th June.

Roundway Down, 13th July.

In every field of military operations the balance of success lay with the Royalists; but neither side had ever formed any design which could be dignified by the name of a plan of campaign. About this time apparently Prince Rupert did actually conceive the idea of a triple converging movement upon London, Newcastle striking down from the north through the eastern counties, Hopton advancing through southern Wessex, and the main army striking from Oxford. The scheme was dropped, because Newcastle would not venture to leave Hull in his rear, and the men of Cornwall and Devon were equally unwilling to leave those counties while the Roundheads held Lyme Regis, Plymouth, and Falmouth.

Rupert's abortive plan of campaign.

So the war went on as before, the advance on London was given up, and Charles turned westward to besiege Gloucester, which remained stubbornly parliamentarian in the middle of a Cavalier country. The fall of Gloucester would complete the Royalist supremacy in the west, except for the ports on the south coast. The parliament resolved on a great effort to save it; the London trained bands rose to the occasion and agreed to march with Essex to its relief. Gloucester, which had defended itself with vigour, had all but exhausted its stores of ammunition when the approach of Essex forced Charles to raise the siege on 5th September. Waiting only till the supplies in Gloucester were renewed, Essex started on the return journey, for his troops had not been prepared for a prolonged campaign. Meanwhile Charles was concentrating his forces to cut Essex off. The parliamentary general struck for the great south road between Bath and London; the king marched south-east to intercept him, and blocked the way at Newbury. Essex had no alternative but to cut his way through. There was a hotly contested battle, apparently indecisive; but the king did not feel strong enough to maintain his position. He drew off his forces, and Essex continued his march to London, where the London trained bands returned to their ordinary avocations. Meanwhile Newcastle had laid siege to the Fairfaxes in Hull.

Gloucester relieved, 5th September.

First battle of Newbury, 20th September.

The crisis in 1641 had been brought about by the insurrection in Ireland, the necessity for raising an English force to suppress it, and the contest as to who should control that force. The practical result was that the necessary force was not sent, but it had become abundantly clear to every Catholic in Ireland that if the parliament got its way the position of the Catholics would be made intolerable. The loyalist Catholics consequently united with the original party of the insurrection, which had hoped to throw off the English yoke. The policy of the confederate Catholics was expressed in an assembly called at Kilkenny in October 1642, which proclaimed complete freedom for the Catholic religion, and the restoration of the ecclesiastical lands to the Catholic clergy. The party of Separatists saw that for the time being at least it would be best to take their stand with their co-religionists, and to content themselves with supporting the Crown against the English parliament. What they might do when the Crown won was another matter. The combined Catholics were too strong for the government forces in the south or the Scots in the north to break them up. The king was ready enough to make promises, however small the chance might be of his being able to fulfil them. Thus in the summer of 1643 a provisional agreement was reached, the king's agent being Lord Ormond. There was to be a cessation of hostilities for a year; it was to include the Scots in the north if they chose. A free Irish parliament was to be called, and troops from Ireland were to be sent over to help the king in England. The agreement was reached in September.

1642. Ireland.

1643. The Cessation, September.

While the king was seeking to enlist Ireland in his support, the parliament was making corresponding efforts in Scotland. The Scots had no direct concern in the issue between Charles and the English parliament, but they saw that if the Crown won a complete victory in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland would be doomed. The Covenant government led by Argyll wanted not to take part in the war, but to mediate on the basis of a Presbyterian establishment in England. The suggestion was rejected by the king. The Scots

1643. Scotland.

government summoned a convention of the Estates in the summer of 1643; it was becoming seriously alarmed, and had obtained documentary evidence of a conspiracy on the part of the Royalist nobles for a rising supported by Irish troops. The documents were communicated to the English parliament at Westminster, and at once aroused the hope that the Scots might now be induced to give military co-operation.

A commission was sent to Scotland to negotiate. Argyll and his followers sought to make the establishment of Presbyterianism in England a condition, but the younger (Sir Harry) Vane, one of the English commissioners, succeeded in procuring a modification in the form of an agreement whereby the English bound themselves to secure the Scottish Church, and to reform religion in the Church of England 'according to the example of the best reformed churches and according to the Word of God'—a phrase which, while the abolition of episcopacy was assumed, left the English generally free to admit the Independent or Congregational system. The 'Solemn League and Covenant' was accepted by the Scottish General Assembly and by the convention of Estates in August, and at Westminster on 25th September. In return the Scots undertook to provide an army for which they were to be paid £30,000 per month.

1643. The Solemn League and Covenant, September.

Meanwhile the parliament, dissatisfied with the progress of its arms, had resolved to bring the forces of the Association of the Eastern Counties into the field under the earl of Manchester, and under Pym's direction made strenuous efforts to increase its war revenue. A direct property tax, the 'monthly assessment,' was followed up by an increase of the customs and by the first introduction of a measure of excise, the taxation of home products. The idea was borrowed from Holland, and was so unpopular that it was restricted to the production and sale of spirituous liquors; but in that form it became established as a permanent source of revenue. But Pym's career was drawing to a close. He had been the pillar of parliament, the master organiser of the Opposition to the Crown, the supreme director

The parliament's taxes.

Death of Pym, December.

of the government wherever the authority of parliament extended, the one civilian capable of assuming a commanding leadership and imposing unity upon his followers. After his death the elements of disintegration became increasingly conspicuous; the opposition between the majority of orthodox Presbyterians and the minority of miscellaneous sectarians, for the most part Independents, became more marked. The actual administration, however, was vested in a 'committee of both kingdoms,' consisting of twenty-five members, including four Scottish commissioners. Several of the military chiefs were included, but owing to their absence in the field the practical work of the committee was in the hands of the civilians.

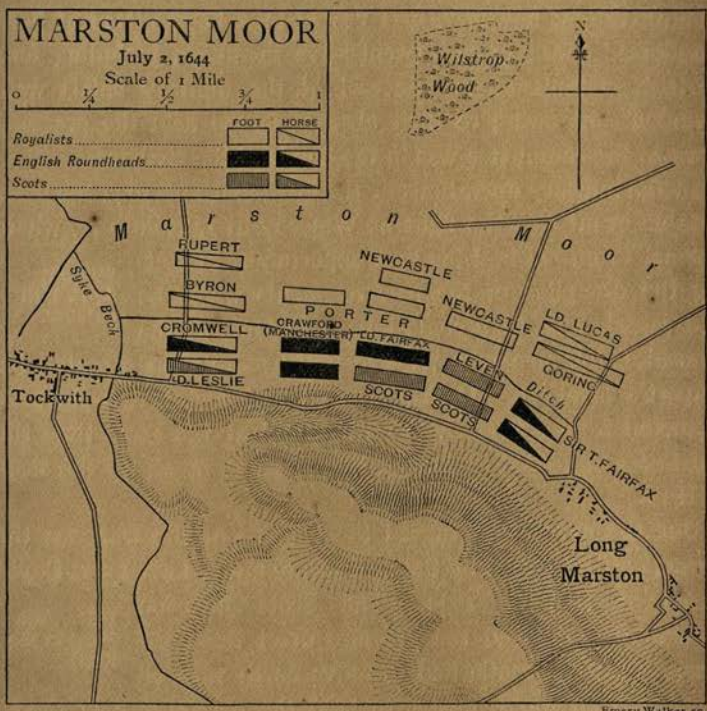
In the military operations of the last month of 1643 the most notable event was the fight at Winceby in Lincolnshire, where Colonel Cromwell had his first opportunity of testing the discipline of the new regiments which he had raised, soon to become known to fame as the Ironsides, the men who were to prove more than a match for Rupert's cavaliers. At Winceby, on 11th October, a Royalist incursion from Newark was routed, and at the same time the Fairfaxes succeeded in forcing Newcastle to break up the siege of Hull.

Winceby fight, 11th October.

But the event that turned the balance of the war was the passage of the Tweed by the Scots army under Leven and David Leslie in January 1644. The Scots invasion immediately relieved the pressure upon the Fairfaxes, since Newcastle had to move north with all the forces he could muster to hold the new enemy in check. Even so he could not risk a pitched battle, and about the middle of April he was driven into York. Meanwhile the Royalists, reinforced from Ireland, were struggling to master Cheshire; and Rupert saved Newark, which blocked the route from the north to London, from falling into the hand of the Roundheads. But the prince's dashing cavalry raid enabled him to do nothing more, and he had to fall back to the west. That retreat left the Fairfaxes free to join the Scots in laying siege to York.

1644. The Scots in the north.

In the south Hopton was checked by Waller at Cheriton. Essex and Waller were then instructed to conduct a joint movement against the king at Oxford, while Manchester with ten thousand men from the eastern counties, and with Cromwell as second in command and in charge of the cavalry, was sent to join the Leslies and Fairfaxes before York.



The junction was effected on 3rd June. Meanwhile Rupert was clearing the country and collecting more followers in Lancashire. At the end of the month he crossed the hills into Yorkshire, evaded the parliamentary army, and threw himself into York on 1st July. The Royalist forces being thus augmented, Manchester began to retreat southwards to secure the eastern counties against invasion; but finding that the movement involved too much danger

Marston Moor, 2nd July.

for the rearguard, he drew up his forces at Marston Moor to challenge battle. Cromwell's troopers and part of the Scots horse under David Leslie were on the left, the rest of the cavalry on the right under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Rupert had at once pressed forward from York, and the Royalists formed with their infantry in the centre, Rupert's horse on the right, facing Cromwell, and Goring's on the left. It was already late in the afternoon of 2nd July. The Royalists determined to defer the attack till the morrow, when to their surprise the Roundheads took the initiative. The horse on both wings charged. **The battle.** Cromwell broke the first line facing him, and David Leslie coming to his support, they swept Rupert's cavalry off the field. On the Royalist left Goring defeated the younger Fairfax, and the Roundhead horse were scattered in flight, with most of Goring's troopers in pursuit, till the latter found occupation in looting the baggage. Of the Roundhead infantry, the eastern counties men on the left of the line held their own, but the centre and right were broken after fierce fighting. Still, however, the second line of Scots held their ground stubbornly against overwhelming odds. Meantime Cromwell and Leslie had halted their men on the left and now fell upon the flank and rear of the Royalist infantry. The Royalists were overwhelmed; the famous regiment called Newcastle's Whitecoats refused quarter, fighting on desperately till there were hardly more than a score of them left.

The Royalist cause in the north was irreparably shattered. Newcastle threw up the struggle and fled to the Continent; Rupert drew his remnant together and retreated **Its effects.** to Shrewsbury. The Roundhead army divided, the Scots moving north to complete the subjugation of the border counties, the Fairfaxes undertaking the reduction of Yorkshire, while Manchester fell back to the eastern counties. The battle of Marston Moor secured the whole of the north to the parliament. It was notable as the fight in which a larger number of troops were engaged than in any other battle of the war. Manchester's force numbered 25,000 men, and the Royalists probably 18,000. It was especially significant, because it was the first occasion

except Winceby on which Cromwell had been able to put to the proof the splendid qualities of the troopers he had trained, and his own supreme capacity as a cavalry leader. For he had mastered the secret which Rupert never learnt, of holding his men in hand in the moment of victory. When Rupert's cavaliers swept their opponents away, they kept up the pursuit and took no more part in the main battle; when the Ironsides had routed the foe facing them, they turned and fell upon the enemy's centre; whereby both Marston Moor and Naseby were converted into victories, when both, with a Rupert in Cromwell's place, would have ended in disaster.

The north was lost, but the disaster there was nearly compensated by Royalist successes in the south. The movement of Essex and Waller upon Oxford had been a failure, and the two commanders separated; Essex marched down to the south-west, where Lyme Regis was in danger of being captured, leaving Waller to deal with the king, who routed him at Cropredy Bridge. Waller's force broke up, and Charles turned to pursue Essex, whom he overtook and penned in at Lostwithiel in Cornwall. The parliamentary cavalry cut their way out of the trap, but the bulk of the army was doomed. Essex escaped to the sea, but the whole force surrendered, though the terms permitted them to go their way without their arms.

Cropredy Bridge, 29th June.

Lostwithiel, 31st August.

The king began his return march. To hold him back Waller was sent forward to Shaftesbury, on the borders of Wilts and Dorset, with the few forces available. Essex made his way back by sea to Portsmouth, where he set about reorganising his old troops. Manchester was ordered to move to their support from the east. The three generals effected a junction at Basingstoke, their united forces numbering less than twenty thousand. Charles had intended to relieve Basing House, which had long bidden a stubborn defiance to all Roundhead attacks; but in the circumstances he was not sufficiently strong to make the attempt. None of the three parliamentary generals was official commander-in-chief, and the control of the operations was placed in the hands of a

Second battle of Newbury, 27th October.

council of war. The force went in search of the king's army, which was not much more than half their number; they found him near Newbury. Through mismanagement, for which Manchester was mainly responsible, they failed to crush him in the second battle of Newbury, and he made good his retreat to Oxford.

The strategical blunders of Essex in the west, and the tactical blunders of Manchester at Newbury, had preserved the king from the overthrow which ought to have followed upon Marston Moor; except beyond the Humber the honours of the campaign had fallen to him. But the time had arrived when the control of the armies of the parliament was to pass into other and efficient hands; and after that their victory was not long delayed. The civilians at Westminster, as well as the soldiers in the field, were beginning to realise that if the war was to be brought to a satisfactory termination the troops must be led by men chosen for their soldiership, not because they were eminently respectable peers with Presbyterian predilections. Manchester in particular was avowedly half-hearted, unwilling to strike hard however excellent an opportunity might offer. But one fact was notorious. The generals and the soldiers who had achieved sudden distinction at Marston Moor were zealous Puritans, but they were not Presbyterians, at least in the political sense; not men who wished to impose the Presbyterian system upon the country, or who rated orthodoxy as an attribute more valuable in a military command than soldiership. If Cromwell had had his way, an Anabaptist would receive promotion as readily as the most orthodox Presbyterian provided that 'the root of the matter' was in him, enthusiasm for the Cause. There could be no warm alliance between men of this type and the Scots, whose primary desire was the establishment of Presbyterian uniformity in both the kingdoms.

Demand for military reorganisation: autumn.

After the second battle of Newbury hostilities were practically suspended, neither side being in a position to pursue them with vigour. On the one hand there were discussions of possible or impossible terms upon which peace might be made. How im-

passable was the gulf between king and parliament was proved by the latter taking occasion to execute the long harmless Archbishop Laud, under an ordinance of attainder after the Strafford precedent. On the other hand there was a direct attack in parliament, reinforced by the soldiers who were members, upon the existing military system. Cromwell took the lead in denouncing the principles which bestowed the chief command on such men as Manchester, while a protest came in from the eastern counties that it was no longer possible for them to bear so disproportionate a share of the cost of providing troops. The result was a resolution of the committee of both kingdoms that a regularly paid striking force of twenty-one thousand men should be raised at the general cost, liable to serve wherever they were required, while the business of local defence should still be left to local levies. This New Model Army, a regularly organised and unified body under a regular system of discipline, whether its ranks were filled up by voluntary enlistment or by forced impressment, became definitely the Army, and was soon developed into a first-rate instrument of war.

1645. Laud beheaded, 10th January.

The New Model Army.

The scheme of the New Model was soon followed up by a proposal for a Self-denying Ordinance whereby members of either House should be excluded from military commands. The Lords rejected the Ordinance, but the Commons proceeded to nominate Sir Thomas Fairfax to the command-in-chief, with Skippon as major-general, and a lieutenant-general not yet named, though it was undoubtedly intended that the post should be reserved for Cromwell. The inevitable breakdown of the negotiations for peace at the beginning of 1645 did something to allay dissensions. The Lords passed the ordinance for the New Model, and a new Self-denying Ordinance was adopted by which all the officers who were members of either House were to resign their commands within forty days, though with no proviso to prevent their reappointment.

The Self-denying Ordinance.

The New Model could not be got into working order in a day. On the other hand it was not easy for Charles to raise fresh levies; all over the west the country folk, who cared very little,

if at all, about the political question, were raging against the Royalist troops, which were apt to pillage and bully them; they gathered in considerable bands, ready to attack any soldiery, with no more definite intention than the protection of their own property. The Clubmen, as they were called, gave a good deal of trouble, and did not assist recruiting.

The Clubmen.

But Royalist hopes had been raised in another quarter. The Scots in the north were lukewarm over the English war. They felt that their military services had not been adequately recognised, especially their share in the victory of Marston Moor. They were jealous of Cromwell and disgusted at the increasing influence of Independency, of which they were no less intolerant than of episcopacy. They had joined the war chiefly in the hope of making England Presbyterian, and it was now extremely doubtful whether Presbyterianism would win a complete ascendency. But besides this, they were turning anxious eyes to their own country, where a Royalist insurrection was now even threatening the existence of the Covenanting government.

The Scots.

Since the days of the Incident, Montrose had been a wholehearted Royalist; but the Covenanting forces in Scotland were far too strong to make an effective Royalist movement possible when the Scots and the English parliament adopted the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643. In 1644 the pick of the Scottish troops and commanders had come into England. After Marston Moor Montrose, who had been in England urging the king to strike a blow in Scotland, returned to Scotland with a marquisate and the king's appointment as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. In disguise he slipped across the Lowlands into the Highlands, having conceived the plan of raising the clans for the king against a government whose recognised head was the chief of the Campbells, Argyll. Hatred of the Campbells and the prospect of pillage rallied many of the clansmen to his call; he was joined by a mixed troop of Scots and Irish from Ireland led by Alastair Macdonald of Colkitto.

1644. Montrose raises the clans.

On 1st September 1644 Montrose and his Highlanders completely routed the government force of thrice their numbers at Tippermuir, near Perth, the first of a series of brilliant victories. From Perth he dashed upon Aberdeen, routed a Covenant force under Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and sacked the city. Argyll in command of a third army was now marching in pursuit, but Montrose led him on a fruitless chase through the mountains; Argyll in despair retired, sending his Campbells home again. In midwinter Montrose and the clansmen swooped on Argyllshire itself and devastated the Campbell country. But his forces were too small to enable him to invade the Lowlands. The clans of the far north were too remote from the Campbells to share the intense hostility to that clan. Their chiefs were for the most part on the government side. Montrose moved northwards; Argyll, with the Campbells and two regiments of Lowlanders, went in pursuit. Montrose with his fifteen hundred men turned and fell upon them at Inverlochy, where they were cut to pieces or scattered in wild flight. Then he again turned against Mackenzie of Seaforth on Loch Ness, but Seaforth did not stay to fight him.

Montrose's campaigns, September 1644-April 1645.

Montrose had not effected a Royalist conquest, but the government of the Covenant was seriously endangered, the Scots army in England was becoming anxious at least to be free to return to Scotland, and Charles had hopes of achieving a signal success by turning his arms to the north and striking in co-operation with Montrose. The plan was spoilt in April by Cromwell, who was retained in his command while he swept the country round Oxford, clearing it of every horse, so that the royal army was paralysed for want of draft cattle.

1645. Revival of the war in England.

As soon as the New Model Army was ready it should have been directed to crushing the king's main army, always weakened by the false policy of distributing garrisons instead of concentrating for decisive action. But Fairfax was ordered to march to the relief of Taunton, where Robert Blake, the afterwards famous admiral, was holding out for the parliament. Charles

began to march for the north. Leven fell back to cover the border and prevent the possibility of an incursion by Montrose. Fairfax was ordered to turn upon Oxford. Charles captured Leicester, where he remained uncertain whether to march back to the relief of Oxford, to march north, or to threaten the eastern counties; and at last Fairfax got his orders to march against the king, and was joined by Cromwell, who had now been appointed second-in-command at the express desire of Fairfax and the officers.

On 14th June the decisive battle was fought at Naseby. The story of Marston Moor was repeated. Rupert and Langdale commanded the cavalry on the right and left wings of the Royalists, whose whole force was under eight thousand men. Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton, commanded on the right and left wings of the Roundhead army, which numbered less than fourteen thousand. Rupert routed Ireton, and swept on till his men fell upon the baggage train. Cromwell broke Langdale's horse and scattered them. The infantry on both sides fought stubbornly; but Cromwell halted his men, turned, fell upon the Royalist flank and rear, and scattered the army completely before Rupert reappeared on the scene. The king himself escaped, but the whole of his stores and his correspondence fell into the hands of the victor.

Naseby, 14th June.

From this time Charles was little more than a fugitive without an army. Fairfax marched for the west, where Goring still commanded for the king, and shattered him at Langport on 10th July. The rest of the campaigning was occupied in the reduction of Royalist fortresses, and the crushing of such bands of Cavaliers as could collect together. But Montrose continued his career of successes, which culminated with the victory of Kilsyth on 15th August, a victory so complete that it seemed to lay Scotland at Montrose's mercy. He descended into the Lowlands, but his triumph was built on hopelessly insecure foundations. The clansmen had no idea of the meaning of a campaign as opposed to a raid. His army dissolved. David Leslie hurried his Scots horse across the border, and when, with four thousand men, he fell upon Montrose at

Kilsyth, 15th August.

Philiphaugh, the 'Great Marquess' had no Highlanders, but only some hundreds of horse and five hundred of Colkitto's Irish troops. Those who did not escape by flight were cut to pieces, and Montrose himself became a fugitive (13th September). By April 1646 every hope of resistance to the parliament army had vanished, Charles entered upon negotiations with the Scots, and on 5th May he placed himself in their hands at Newark.

Philiphaugh, 13th September.

II. King, Parliament, and Army, 1646-1649

Fighting was over, the whole country was in the control of the parliament and the army of the parliament; and it remained for the king from his quarters with the Scots army to negotiate the terms upon which the Crown was to be permitted to take part in the government of England. No party had hitherto associated itself with the idea of abolishing the monarchy; Crown and parliament had quarrelled over the respective limits of royal and of parliamentary authority—no one had claimed that either should have no authority at all. Before the war broke out, parliament had succeeded in decisively asserting complete control over taxation and the supremacy of the common law. It had claimed, but it had not won, control over the Church; and it had claimed, but not won, statutory control over the militia, the armed forces of the kingdom. Here, then, were the two great questions for settlement—the control of the Church and the control of the forces; to which was added a third, resulting from the war itself, the treatment of those whom parliament called 'delinquents,' the men who had taken arms for the king. At the back of these questions was the consciousness that the king would never hesitate to reassert any of the old claims abolished by statute if he imagined that he could enforce them.

1646. The problem.

Only one thing could have stood in the way of a unanimous parliament dictating its own terms—the possibility that the king might win the Scots over to support his claims. What the Scots cared about was Presbyterianism, and their support might

be won at the price of establishing Presbyterianism in both countries; especially if to that were added free trade between England and Scotland, for as concerned trade the Scots were aliens in England, and Scottish trade would benefit enormously by the removal of barriers. But the English parliament was not united. The majority favoured terms which would have satisfied the Scots by establishing Presbyterian uniformity. The minority would have nothing to do with compulsory uniformity, were determined upon religious freedom at least for all Puritan sects, and might be prepared to extend toleration even to episcopacy. And that minority was solidly supported by the New Model Army and its officers. For the sake of convenience this whole group may be referred to as Independents, though that name was specifically appropriated by the particular sect otherwise known as Congregationalists.

Divergencies of the victors.

Now Charles himself was perfectly clear in his own mind that his Divine commission as king gave him an indefeasible right to control the military and naval forces, and imposed on him the duty of enforcing what he held to be the true religion upon the subjects committed to his charge; while honour manifestly forbade him to desert the loyal followers who had stood by him. He was also unfortunately convinced that any pledges which he might make in contravention of any of those three propositions might be voided at his pleasure, on the ground that they were made under duress. And he conceived that while he had three parties to bargain with, the Scots, the parliamentary Presbyterians, and the army Independents, he might legitimately delude any or all of them with contradictory promises, and at the same time intrigue for any assistance in arms which might enable him once more to override all opposition. He would not violate his own conscience; probably the only occasion on which he ever did so was when he consented to the death of Strafford. But his conscience found nothing reprehensible in duplicity. That fact was made tolerably clear by the papers captured at Naseby, which disclosed sundry intrigues in the past. Hence the distrust which he inspired made all negotiations trebly intricate and difficult to carry through.

The king.

But he was the less disturbed by this, because he was also convinced that all he required was time; that time would open irreconcilable breaches between the sections of his opponents, that the dissensions between them would ensure his own ultimate victory, and that the whole nation would realise that he was in fact indispensable. Of all his illusions, the last was the most visionary and the most fatal.

So from the Scots camp he discussed terms of alliance with the Scots and negotiated with the parliamentary leaders, who dreaded the Independents and the army, and even with the Independents, who were no more willing to resign their religious liberty at the dictation of parliament than of the Crown.

The first outcome was the offer known as the Propositions of Newcastle. Parliament, with the assent of the Scots, required that he should take the Covenant, establish Presbyterianism, surrender control of the militia and the fleet for twenty years, consent to the exclusion of a number of Royalists from the general indemnity, and leave parliament free to deal with Ireland as it thought fit. Charles refused. The Scots, finding that the conditions on which they laid stress would not be accepted, came to terms with the English parliament. They would withdraw from England on receiving the arrears of pay due under the original agreement. Then Charles offered to surrender the militia for ten years, and to establish Presbyterianism for three years, pending a settlement of the ecclesiastical system—practically by a joint commission of divines chosen in equal numbers by himself, by the Presbyterians, and by the Independents, associated with a committee of both Houses. His proposal was in turn rejected by the Scots and the parliament.

The Newcastle proposals.

The Scots did not want the king in Scotland, where his presence might effect a Royalist rally. They did not want to set him at large. The only alternative was to transfer him to the English parliament. The bargain was concluded, and when half the £400,000 due to them had been paid, they retired to Scotland, after handing him over to English commissioners, who carried him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire.

1647. The Scots surrender the king, February.

The parliament, having the king in their hands, thought the time had arrived to secure themselves against the domination of the army, which they had created to overcome the king. They proposed to dispatch half of it to Ireland, disband half the remainder, and require all to take the Covenant. But the army had fought primarily for religious liberty—and its pay was in arrear. It objected entirely to being disbanded without security for its demands on both those heads, and it did not want to go to Ireland. The security was not forthcoming. The rank and file of almost every regiment elected two representatives, who came to be known as 'Agitators,' *i.e.* agents, who laid their grievances before the three generals—Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon. The Agitators were backed by the officers. Cromwell, with other officers who were members of parliament, went down from Westminster to the army headquarters with offers for the paying off of arrears, and a promise of indemnity for all acts done during the war, offers which parliament itself ratified.

Dissensions of army and parliament.

Still the army did not disband and did not go to Ireland. The Presbyterian majority in parliament relying upon the Presbyterianism of London, gave the city the control of its own militia, entered on fresh negotiation with the Scots, made proposals to the king not differing greatly from his own last offer, and prepared to disband the army regiment by regiment. But the generals, the officers, and the rank and file of the army, were at one. They saw that disbandment would leave the Independents at the mercy of the Presbyterians, and that if king and Presbyterians combined there would be no hope for that religious liberty which they would by no means surrender. On 3rd June Cornet Joyce, with a party of troopers, arrived at Holmby House, and invited the king to attend him back to the army. Joyce, asked for his commission, pointed to the troopers. Charles acknowledged its validity and accepted the situation. With the king in their hands, the soldiers held the mastery.

Cornet Joyce, 3rd June.

Fairfax, an admirable gentleman, a skilful soldier, upright, conscientious, broad-minded, but conventional, was not the man

to control an emergency. Cromwell and he worked loyally together, but Cromwell was the moving spirit. An Army Council was formed of representative officers and Agitators. The House of Commons took alarm, and requested that the army should not approach within thirty miles of London. The Army Council responded on 15th June with the 'Declaration of the Army.' It demanded the early dissolution of parliament, which had long outlived its authority, a limitation on the duration of future parliaments, the trial of all offences under the common law—since the Houses had assumed an arbitrary jurisdiction of their own—and a general amnesty. This it followed up by denouncing eleven members for stirring up the parliament against the army, and by a demand for the suspension of those members, and the disbanding of other troops raised by the government.

The Declaration of the Army, 15th June.

The king hoped to wring victory for himself out of the quarrel between army and parliament. The army meant to impose reasonable terms upon both parliament and king. The Army Council had formed a scheme of settlement known as the 'Heads of the Proposals.' The present parliament was to be dissolved within the year. Future parliaments were to be limited to two years, and might not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved in less than one hundred and twenty days, except with their own consent. The place of the Privy Council was to be taken by a Council of State appointed by agreement for seven years. The Houses were to control the army and navy and the appointment of the officers of the State for ten years. No one was to be required to take the Covenant or was to be punished for not using the Prayer-Book. The Royalists, with few exceptions, were to be dealt with generously, but as a defeated party.

The Heads of Proposals.

The Presbyterians wavered at first, many of them retiring. Then, backed by the Londoners and the hope of Scottish support, they began to resume an attitude of resistance. The Independents, fifty-eight commoners and nine peers, withdrew from Westminster and joined the army; Fairfax marched upon London, restored the members

The army at Putney, August.

to Westminster, established his own headquarters at Putney, leaving a regiment at Westminster and another at the Tower, and placed the king at Hampton Court.

Charles tried to temporise; but meanwhile there had grown up within the army a new group of extremists, soon known as the Levellers, who in October drew up a declaration on their own account called the *Case of the Army truly stated*. Parliament was to be purged of offending members, and was to be dissolved within a year. Thereafter the sovereign body was to be a House of Commons elected biennially by manhood suffrage. It was the first expression of uncompromising democracy, and of the view that the king was to be left out of count.

The Levellers, October.

Charles complicated matters by making his escape from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, whence he hoped to take ship to France. He was detained, however, by the governor of Carisbrooke Castle, whence he reopened negotiations with the Presbyterian leaders, the army officers, and the Scots commissioners in London. The last, abhorring the army and dissatisfied with the parliament, made with him the treaty called the Engagement on 26th December. He was to confirm the Covenant, establish Presbyterianism for three years, after which religion was to be settled by the Crown and the Houses, and all heresies, which meant every kind of independency, were to be suppressed. If on these terms the parliament refused to disband the armies and admit the king to a personal treaty, the Scots would take up arms on his behalf, for which they were to be rewarded by the concession of free trade. The Engagement, instead of completing the disintegration of army and parliament, closed up their ranks. The 'Committee of both Kingdoms' was dissolved—the Scots, that is, were to have no more voice in the negotiations. The Commons resolved to make no more addresses to the king, and to receive no more messages from him. Scotland, however, was divided. The Estates met in March. The advanced Covenanters were ill enough pleased with the English, but saw that the Engagement, or a successful war on

Flight of Charles to Carisbrooke, November.

1648. The Engagement.

the lines of the Engagement, would give the king a dangerous ascendency in Scotland as well as in England. The thorough-going Royalists, the enemies of Argyll, and a section of Presbyterians, favoured the Engagement, and the Engagers got the upper hand. Scots and English prepared for war.

Meanwhile a Presbyterian-Royalist insurrection broke out in Wales, half of which was in a flame before the end of April. In May Cromwell arrived there with five regiments, and was very thoroughly occupied for a couple of months before he could crush the revolt. He had hardly gone thither when the Royalists of Kent revolted, and the crews of several ships of the navy whose pay was in arrear declared for the king. Fairfax dispersed the Kentish insurgents in June; some hundreds of them made their way into Essex, where another insurrection was afoot, but only to be cooped up by the general in a close blockade at Colchester.

Royalist insurrections, April-July.

The English risings took place before the Scots were ready. It was not till 8th July that the duke of Hamilton, the leader of the Engagers, crossed the Border with eleven thousand men. Five weeks later he had received reinforcements which brought his numbers up to twenty-four thousand, and he advanced into Lancashire. On 15th August Cromwell, who advanced in hot haste from South Wales at the first moment that he was free to move, joined forces with Lambert, the parliamentary commandant in the north, who had been obliged to fall back to Knaresborough, and now met him near Wetherby. With nine thousand men Cromwell dashed upon the invaders, who were advancing in a long straggling stream through Lancashire, fell upon their flank at Preston on 17th August, killed a thousand of them, took four thousand prisoners, cutting the force completely in two, and pressed south in pursuit of the van whose northward retreat was cut off. He caught the exhausted troops, who were almost without ammunition, at Winwick, and drove them headlong towards Warrington, where another four thousand surrendered. The remnant who had escaped were captured a few days later. On 27th August Colchester surrendered to Fairfax. Of the

The Preston campaign, August.

Scots prisoners, those who had been pressed were allowed to return home; the rest were shipped off to virtual slavery in Barbadoes. The Colchester garrison suffered the same fate, while their officers were imprisoned and two of them executed. The battle of Preston restored Argyll's ascendency in Scotland, and the king had nothing more to hope from that quarter.

The second Civil War relieved the parliament from the dominating presence of the soldiery. The Presbyterians regained their ascendency and reopened negotiations with Charles at Newport. But the army had made up its mind that no terms could be made with the king. Hitherto men like Cromwell and Ireton had bent their efforts to the establishment of a limited monarchy with guarantees for religious toleration. The events of the year had forced upon them the conclusion that Charles would never hesitate to plunge the country into a fresh war if he imagined that he could thereby recover prerogatives of which he had been curtailed. He had made himself impossible as a king, while on the other hand the parliament had shown its determination to constitute itself a permanent and indissoluble authority as rigidly opposed to religious freedom as the king himself. Whatever the politicians might have intended, the army had fought and bled and conquered for freedom; neither king nor parliament should rob it of the fruits of its victory. Parliament therefore must be purged, and the king must never again have power to deluge the country with the blood of the saints.

The army implacable.

What that meant, Ireton expressed in the 'Remonstrance of the Army'; no terms could be made with the king, and justice warranted his execution as a traitor. The Remonstrance was adopted by the officers with Cromwell's concurrence, and by them was laid before the House of Commons. The Commons shrank from discussing so terrible a question. Cromwell was not back from the north; Fairfax would not give a lead. On 1st December the Army Council had the king removed to Hurst Castle. On 2nd December the army entered London. On 5th December the Commons resolved that the last proposals from the king provided a basis of settlement.

Pride's Purge, 6th December.

On 6th December Colonel Pride, with a band of soldiers, arrested or turned back from the doors of the House every member who was not of the army's way of thinking. The remnant, the famous Rump, assumed for themselves the character of the supreme authority of the realm, with the approval of Cromwell, who arrived in London on the day of Pride's Purge.

The king was brought up from Hurst Castle to Windsor; the Rump resolved that according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom it is treason for a king to levy war against the parliament. On 1st January it passed an ordinance creating a High Court of Justice to try the king. What was left of the House of Peers rejected both the resolution and the ordinance. The Rump modified the ordinance, nominating one hundred and thirty-five commissioners to try the king, and passed new resolutions declaring that whatsoever is resolved by the Commons in parliament assembled is law, with or without the assent of peers and king. Henceforth it gave to its ordinances the title of Acts.

1649. The High Court of Justice.

On 8th January the High Court assembled; less than two-fifths of the nominated commissioners appeared, and some of them did not appear a second time, Fairfax among the number. The procedure of the court was arranged, and the opening of the trial fixed for 20th January. On that day the number of commissioners present rose to sixty-eight. The king was brought in. John Cook, who had been appointed Solicitor for the Commonwealth, read the indictment impeaching Charles Stuart as a tyrant, a traitor, and a public enemy of the Commonwealth of England; as having levied war against the parliament and people of England with intent to create an unlimited power in the Crown. The president, Bradshaw, summoned the king to answer the charge 'in the name of the people of England.' 'It is a lie,' cried a woman's voice from the gallery. 'Not a half nor a quarter of them——' The audacious speaker proved to have been Lady Fairfax. The king demanded by what authority he was called upon to answer. Here he recognised no lawful authority, and would answer to none that was not lawful. On the second and on the third day the court

The trial, 20th-27th January.

refused to allow its jurisdiction to be called in question, the jurisdiction which Charles repeated his refusal to recognise.

Still the judges hesitated. The Scots had entered a formal protest against the trial of a king of Scots before an English tribunal. Public sympathy was drawn to the king by the dignity of his bearing, by the deep-rooted traditional reverence for kingship, by the palpably illegal character of the tribunal, by dread of a military domination. If Fairfax should declare against the court, even the army would be divided against itself. But Fairfax remained silent. For two days the judges waited, listening to evidence in support of the charges. But there were some of them who had ceased to doubt, who had made up their minds to accept the terrific responsibility, who had convinced themselves that while Charles Stuart lived there could be no security, that his crimes were warrant for his death. Their ruthless determination carried the day. On 27th January Charles was brought to the bar. He demanded to be heard before the assembled Lords and Commons. The demand was refused. The president of the court delivered judgment and bade the clerk read the sentence. Fifty-eight of the judges signed the death warrant. On 30th January 1649 the head of the king of England was struck off by the executioner's axe, the crowning tragedy of the tragic House of Stuart.

Regicide, 30th January.

CHAPTER XIII. THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-1660

I. The Republic, 1649-1653

When the head of King Charles was cut off, the English polity lay palpably in ruins. Until the king of England was summoned to answer for his life before a tribunal which professed to represent the people of England, there was a theoretical possibility of reconstructing the constitution, which had been in abeyance since 1642. The conditions, without which such a reconstruction was impossible, were, first, that the king should convince his adversaries of his own good faith, since men will not come to terms, except under compulsion, unless they expect the terms to be strictly observed; secondly, that toleration, complete freedom for every Puritan form of religion, should be secured. For every man, so long as he possesses the power of effective resistance, will demand complete freedom of conscience for himself, and the sectaries manifestly possessed that power of resistance. The sectaries, it may be remarked, had not been unwilling to extend the same toleration to episcopacy, though they would allow it no privileges. Both those conditions, however, were wanting. The king had convinced every one that he would regard no promises he might make as binding if it should be in his power to set them at naught. The parliament therefore demanded such a control as should place that power out of his reach for ever; and the sectaries knew that if the parliament acquired that control the toleration they demanded would not be conceded.

Monarchy discarded.

So long as Cromwell and the army hoped to impose toleration upon a reconstituted parliamentary monarchy, they did not wish to usurp the functions of government. When they lost all hope of that consummation, they could see nothing for it but the abolition of the monarchy and a purga-

The act of the army.

tion of parliament which should bring that body into accord with their own views. They carried with them only a small minority of the people; they imposed their will on a nation which was aghast at their proceedings; but they had on their side two forces which made them irresistible, the power of the sword and intensity of moral conviction. Men will debate through all time whether the execution of the king was or was not a crime; they will always condemn it as a blunder, because it manifestly failed of its purpose. Being the act not of the nation but of a section, and abhorrent to the people at large, it set the public conscience in antagonism to the forces responsible for it, so that the government of the Commonwealth was felt as a moral offence—apart from the detestation in which Englishmen held any control which rested not upon popular acquiescence, but upon the power of the sword. Whether as a matter of fact any other solution could have been found at the time which would have delivered the country from anarchy is another question not so easily answered.

1649. The Commonwealth parliament.

With the death of the king two facts emerged: the first that the army was master of the situation; the second, that parliament was the only body with any semblance of legal authority for carrying on the government; the executive authority, the king in council, had disappeared. But the parliament itself had gone to pieces. The Lords and Commons assembled would not obey and could not defy the army. A dissolution and a free parliament would not remove the deadlock. So that remnant of the House of Commons which was in general accord with the army took upon itself the functions of a full parliament, formally excluded from its deliberations all members who would not commit themselves to approval of the execution of the king, or at least the abolition of the monarchy, abolished the House of Lords by its own authority, and created a Council of State to discharge the functions of the executive. Even in that Council it was found necessary to include men who, like Fairfax, were ready to be loyal to the new government, but refused to approve the king's death. In May an Act of parliament proclaimed that

England was a free Commonwealth. The whole of the Rump numbered only about sixty, and half of them, with ten other persons, were on the Council of State, which had the direction of foreign affairs and the control of the naval and military forces.

The Rump and the Council of State then constituted the government. Provided that the men were efficient a powerful government was ensured, so long as they were in accord with each other and with the army, and the army was also in accord with itself. There was a momentary danger that this last condition would fail; that within its ranks democratic ideas would prevail fatal to discipline. The vigour of Cromwell triumphed. Sporadic mutinies were promptly and sternly repressed, and the ringleaders shot. The troops returned to their discipline, and no more dangers arose from this source. England was completely in the grip of the new government; the menace to its stability came from Ireland and from Scotland.

England secure.

We saw that in 1643 the Irish Catholics of all shades were working together, and were disposed, on terms, to support the king against the parliament in England. In that year an agreement was arrived at between them and Ormond as the representative of the king for a twelve months' cessation of active hostilities. A year afterwards the earl of Glamorgan, sent over by Charles to negotiate, made a secret treaty granting to the Catholics much more far-reaching concessions than had been previously demanded. Ormond having no instructions refused to make Glamorgan's concessions. The existence of the secret treaty was made known, and Charles ineffectually sought to disavow it. The overthrow of Charles at Naseby made the loyalist Catholics disposed to accept Ormond's terms. But the extreme papalists, encouraged by the successes of Owen Roe O'Neill against the Ulster Scots, who had not come in to the cessation of arms, denounced the peace altogether. Ormond, devoted to the Crown, but believing that the English supremacy must be maintained in Ireland, would not act himself as the servant of the English parliament, but surrendered his powers to their commissioners in February 1647.

1643-9. Ireland.

During that year the parliamentary troops, aided by the Irish president of Munster, Lord Inchiquin, turned the tide of war against the Catholic confederates. But when in December the king and the Scots entered upon the Engagement, Inchiquin declared for the Crown. In the hope of reinstating an effective Royalist party in Ireland, Ormond was again nominated to the lord-lieutenancy by Henrietta Maria, the king himself being in captivity. Ormond was now warranted in going further to conciliate the Catholics than he had previously felt himself to be. The execution of the king roused to the utmost whatever sentiment of loyalty existed in Ireland, and at the same time converted most of the Ulster Scots into Royalists, since they shared the indignation of their countrymen in Scotland at the execution of the king of Scots by an English parliament in defiance of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Thus in the spring of 1649 the Commonwealth government in England found itself faced with the prospect of a complete recovery of the Royalist ascendency in Ireland, an ascendency moreover of Royalists closely leagued with the Catholics. The actual weakness of Ormond's position was not yet revealed, for in fact O'Neill and the extremists could hardly be reckoned with his following at all, and were more likely to quarrel than to co-operate with the Ulster Scots, Presbyterians who themselves could hardly be on very cordial terms with a form of royalism which threatened a Catholic ascendency.

1649. The Royalist position.

For the moment, however, it seemed that the Royalists were in possession of the whole country except Derry and Dublin, and the government in England pushed forward the arrangements for dispatching a large force to Ireland, with Cromwell in command as lord-lieutenant. Colonel Jones, the able commandant in Dublin, routed Ormond at Rathmines on 2nd August; and at the end of the month the English army was concentrated in Dublin under Cromwell's command.

The Commonwealth's general arrived in Ireland thoroughly imbued with the Elizabethan conception of the barbarous character of the Irish people—a conception enormously intensified by

the credit generally given to the monstrous exaggerations of the sufficiently appalling horrors of the insurrection in 1641. He was no lover of bloodshed; in England, from the moment that Fairfax and Cromwell had risen to the head of the army, all wanton cruelty had been rigidly suppressed, and the licence of the soldiery had been held sternly in check. Rigour had been applied to the enemy only when it seemed that by the infliction of a sharp lesson much bloodshed would in the long run be saved. But in England, until the insurrections of 1648, Cromwell had always striven to keep the door open for the reconciliation of the hostile elements in the country. He came to Ireland convinced that justice would warrant even the extirpation of the Irish for the crimes of which they had been guilty; that the most merciful course to pursue was to inspire such terror that insurrection would not again dare to raise its head. He believed that popery, dangerous in England, was in Ireland a malignant disease, the source of incurable corruption in the body-politic. He believed in smiting and not sparing all who stood in arms against the Lord's servants. It never dawned on him that the Irish people had just grievances; that they had been the victims of high-handed and often brutal oppression; that their hatred of the alien Protestant ascendency was rooted in a passionate sense of intolerable wrongs. His own feeling towards them, the feeling perhaps of most Englishmen of his time, can hardly be paralleled except by the feelings of many Englishmen towards the Indian sepoy after the massacre of Cawnpore. Yet even in Ireland he never descended to the ghastly brutalities which had been the hideous commonplaces of the Thirty Years' War in Germany. Indiscriminate rapine and slaughter, lawless robbery and wanton devastation, were rigidly forbidden, and non-combatants were strictly protected with the significant exception of Catholic priests.

Cromwell in Ireland.

Cromwell launched his first thunderbolt northward against Drogheda. On 10th September he opened his batteries upon it; on the 11th he stormed it, and practically the entire garrison was put to the sword. In the fury of the storming some even of the unarmed townsfolk shared

Drogheda, 11th September.

the fate of the garrison. Leaving his lieutenants to complete the subjugation of the north, he turned southward and fell upon Wexford. The siege had hardly begun when treachery from within opened the gates to the Puritan soldiery, who burst in and repeated the slaughter of Drogheda. Here the garrison were nearly all Irish Catholics, not as at Drogheda largely English Royalists. They were massacred, and with them every priest who could be found. The ghastly business had the effect which Cromwell intended. While Cromwell remained in Ireland it was but rarely that any fortress attempted to offer a prolonged resistance, at least after honour had been satisfied. When in May 1650 Cromwell returned to England, leaving Ireton behind as deputy, half the island was already subdued.

Wexford.

Dissensions among the Irish did the rest; though it was not till two years afterwards, when Ireton was in his grave, that Galway, the last Irish fortress, surrendered. The normal terms of capitulation had permitted the garrisons and the priests to retire from the country, and more than thirty thousand Irishmen are reputed to have entered the armies of foreign princes rather than remain in submission to a Puritan and regicide government. We shall return later to the Cromwellian settlement which followed.

1652. Completion of the conquest.

While Cromwell and Ireton after him were bringing Ireland into subjection, the fleet of the Commonwealth was being shaped by Sir Harry Vane at Westminster, and by Robert Blake on the seas, into that mighty force which has made it the supreme instrument of empire. The material had always been there since the days of Elizabeth's triumph, but mismanagement and corruption had deprived what should have been a very powerful navy of all real efficiency. Now, however, a great administrator took the organisation in hand; and a valiant soldier, transformed into a seaman when he was nearly fifty years old, proved himself one of the very greatest in the line of great British admirals. In 1648 Rupert, dismissed from England not long after Naseby, took to the seas, and, aided by the revolt of a portion of the fleet, for the first time threatened the

The Commonwealth navy.

1648-50. Rupert and Blake.

maritime ascendency of the parliament. Next year he brought the Royalist fleet to Kinsale, but was there isolated by a squadron commanded by Robert Blake. Toward the end of the year he evaded the blockade and was pursued by Blake to Lisbon, where he was well received by the Portuguese. Blake could do no more than prevent him from coming out again, until he himself had to send some of his ships home. Since Portugal was now engaged in asserting her independence of Spain, the Portuguese support of Rupert made the Spaniards friendly to Blake, who carried his squadron to Cadiz. In October Rupert came out of Lisbon and entered the Mediterranean, where he intended to reorganise his force at Toulon. Up to this time no European state had acknowledged the regicide republic, though Philip of Spain had just made up his mind to do so. All the governments, and France conspicuously, favoured the cause of monarchism. Blake, however, pursued Rupert, and destroyed or captured all but three ships of his squadron which escaped to Toulon. From this time dates the habitual presence of British fleets in the Mediterranean, a development of naval policy and strategy of the most profound and far-reaching significance.

Cromwell was recalled from Ireland in May 1650, because, the moment the ascendency of the government there was secured, his presence was imperatively needed elsewhere.

1649. Scotland. In the months following the execution of Charles I. no immediate danger had threatened from Scotland. The Scots had no part nor lot in that tragedy; they were in no sense bound by the actions of England. They had no wish to repudiate either monarchy in general or the House of Stuart in particular. But they meant to make the young Prince Charles accept their own terms before they set him on his father's throne. Their terms involved not only his acceptance of the Covenant for himself, but his promise to enforce it in England and in Ireland. To such terms Charles preferred the chance of success in Ireland, and the possibility that Montrose and the uncompromising Royalists might carry the day for him in Scotland. He rejected the offers of the Scottish government.

Through the year, the great Marquess was struggling to

organise his forlorn hope. At the end of the year the Scots reopened negotiations, which were not broken off although it was known that Montrose was acting with Charles's commission. In April 1650 Montrose made his desperate attempt, entering the furthest north of Scotland with some hundreds of hired foreign soldiers. But there was no strength of royalism or of antagonism to Argyll among the clans of that remote region. None rose to join Montrose's standard. His little force was surprised and scattered; he himself became a fugitive, and fell into the hands of the wife of one of the Ross-shire chiefs, M'Leod of Assynt. She delivered him to the government, which disgraced itself by condemning him to be hanged and quartered as a traitor, as Edward of England had hanged Wallace. So perished one of the most fascinating and romantic figures in Scottish history.

1650. The end of Montrose.

The master in whose cause he sacrificed himself made no attempt to save him, but with characteristic cynicism came to terms with the men who had done his heroic servant to death; that is, when he found them inexorable, he submitted to all their demands. On 23rd June he landed in Scotland, pledged to the Covenant, pledged to dismiss his own friends, pledged to have no dealings with the Engagers, pledged to repudiate all promises made to the Irish. If ever he got back to the throne of England, his pledges to the Scots would be repudiated with equal facility.

Charles accepts the Covenant, June.

The Scots were absolutely entitled to recognise their own king. The English had no title whatever to interfere—except that the presence of King Charles in Scotland would inevitably be a menace to the stability of the Commonwealth in England. The Commonwealth government had no doubt whatever that the expulsion of Charles from Scotland was an imperative necessity. Scots and English prepared for war. Fairfax, nominated to the command, refused it; being of opinion that the Scots were acting within their rights. He was obdurate to the persuasions of Cromwell himself, on whom the supreme command was then conferred, Fairfax resigning.

Fairfax retires.

On 22nd July Cromwell entered Scotland at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men. He did not want to fight, but he would certainly fight if persuasion failed. He tried persuasion unsuccessfully. The Scots had collected a larger force under the Leslies; but they were not of the quality of the men who had fought at Marston Moor. They followed the time-honoured plan of wasting the country before the invader, and assuming the defensive, covering Edinburgh. Cromwell advanced, the fleet accompanying up the coast. But the Leslies were skilled commanders, and the English general found their position impregnable. His troops were falling sick, and he was compelled to retreat on Dunbar followed by the Scots, who again secured an impregnable position cutting off his further retreat. Then the control was taken out of David Leslie's hands by the Committee of Estates, who accompanied the forces. Under the conviction that the Lord had delivered the enemy into their hands, they insisted that the Scots army should descend from the hills and wipe out Cromwell and his sectaries. The result was that Cromwell fell upon them at a disadvantage and utterly shattered them at the battle of Dunbar. Three thousand of them were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners, with hardly any loss to the English.

The Dunbar campaign, July-September.

The rout of Dunbar laid Edinburgh open to Cromwell; but the Scots, though they had failed to annihilate him, were themselves far from being crushed. It was the extreme Covenanters who had been defeated, and on whom the whole responsibility for the defeat lay. Every such failure was a victory almost as much for Charles as for Cromwell, since it helped to break the control of that austere party and to push the unqualified Royalists and the Engagers into a position of ascendency. Although by the New Year Cromwell was in possession even of the castle of Edinburgh, and practically master of the south, there was far more prospect of a Royalist rising in England in co-operation with the Scots than there had been when the young king was apparently a mere puppet in the hands of the ultra-Presbyterians. Sickness held Cromwell inactive for many months. In June 1651 Leslie was

Charles profits by Dunbar.

too strongly posted in the neighbourhood of Stirling to be attacked, and Cromwell could not afford a stalemate. With the actual, or at least ostensible, object of intercepting Leslie's communications with the east from which his supplies were chiefly drawn, the Lord-General marched upon Perth; Charles took the opportunity, which had possibly been given on purpose, and marched south unopposed to invade England.

1651. The Scots invasion.

A week after the start from Stirling Cromwell had dispatched Lambert with a brigade of cavalry to pursue and harass the king's force, and leaving behind him another body of troops under Monk started south from Edinburgh with his main army. Charles took the route into England by way of Carlisle and Lancashire, and beat off Lambert at Warrington. But the Royalists failed to gather to his standard; and when he reached Worcester he resolved to halt and fortify his position. Two days later Cromwell himself was at Warwick, and had been joined by troops which brought up the numbers of his army to nearly thirty thousand men, perhaps double that of the Scots. By 3rd September Cromwell had enveloped Charles at Worcester, and there crushed his force completely after a stubborn contest. Charles, with a few of his horse, broke his way out, but the band of fugitives had to disperse, most of them to fall into the hands of the enemy. The king himself, after various adventures, succeeded in making his way to the fishing village on the coast of Sussex, which we now call Brighton, and escaped to France. For the English republic the battle of Worcester was 'the crowning mercy'; Cromwell never again had to draw the sword in its defence. He returned to London more than ever the hero of the army; and manifestly the first man of the country.

The Worcester campaign.

Worcester, 3rd September.

The invasion of England broke up the Scottish defence. Towns and castles one after another fell into Monk's hands. In the spring of 1652 the English were masters of the country, if it could ever be said that any one was master of the Highlands. In April the English parliament passed an Act for the incorporation of Scotland with

1652. Scotland incorporates.

England. But the incorporation was not effected by treaty. In England it was looked upon as an act of grace on the part of conquerors who generously granted free citizenship to the conquered; a point of view which did not strictly coincide with that of the Scots themselves. To them it appeared merely that they had been brought under the dominion of England; of which the English garrisons were an exasperating proof.

When the English killed their king all Europe shuddered, and no state would recognise the new Commonwealth. In the United Provinces the dominant figure was that of the young stadtholder, William of Orange, the son-in-law of the dead king; an agent sent thither on behalf of the Commonwealth, Dr. Dorislaus, was assassinated, and the States-General, the controlling body, scarcely apologised. In France Mazarin was continuing the work of Richelieu, and concentrating the whole power of the State in the Crown. To Spain the Commonwealth was detestable, whether as regicide or as Puritan. But none of the powers had any inclination to embroil themselves directly with English affairs; and the disinclination increased as month by month and year by year the English government more and more proved its vigour and its capacity for crushing its assailants. The death of William of Orange in 1650, some months before the birth of the child who was one day to become William III. of England, broke for the time the power of the Orange family, and gave the ascendency to the unqualified republicans; whereby a door seemed to be opened for alliance between the Dutch and English republics.

1649-50. Foreign relations.

1650-1651. For a time it seemed likely that friendly relations would be established. Philip of Spain, whose contest with France had not been ended by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, began to think that some friendship with England might be worth cultivating, especially since the troublesome Portuguese were showing hospitality to English Royalists; and the impression was strengthened by the presence of an English fleet in the Mediterranean, where it might exert a predominating influence on the balance of sea-power. Spain was the first state to recognise the Commonwealth. Mazarin was the last

person to permit sentiment to override expediency, and he too began to think it might be worth while to attach the English sea-power to France rather than to Spain. At the beginning of 1652, however askance the powers might look upon England, the prestige of the regicide State seemed likely to stand higher than had been the case during the last thirty years of monarchy.

The State was confident in itself, and was resolute to force its own complete recognition upon the world. As matters stood with its rulers the only motive which was likely to urge it to intervention in quarrels between its continental neighbours would have been the religious one; and a quarrel between France and Spain was in no sense a contest between the forces of the Reformation and the forces of Romanism. But the apparent rapprochement with Holland was soon converted into hostility upon grounds of an altogether different kind. Dutch and English had long been rivals in the trade with the East Indies; the English had by no means forgotten the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. The Dutch had outstripped the English as traders, had become the great carriers of the world, and paid little heed to the English claim to sovereignty in the narrow seas. When the English government lost the hope of a close alliance with the other great Protestant and maritime State, its tone changed.

1651. Relations with Holland.

In October 1651, when Cromwell was returning to London after the victory at Worcester, parliament passed the Navigation Act, of which the direct intention was to deprive the Dutch of the carrying trade, and to transfer it to England. The Act is commonly called Cromwell's, but probably he had nothing to do with it. For more than two years past he had been entirely occupied with Ireland and Scotland, absent from London except for one brief interval, and exercising no control over the general direction of affairs. The Act forbade the importation of goods from America, Asia, or Africa, in any but English ships, and of goods from any European country except in English ships, or the ships of the country where the goods were produced. The English, too, maintained the right of

The Navigation Act.

seizing an enemy's goods even when carried in neutral bottoms; the Dutch as carriers resented such seizures; the English refused to give up their doctrine of the right of search, or to repeal the Navigation Act; and the Dutch admiral, Tromp, brought the quarrel to a head in 1652 by refusing to salute the British flag in the narrow seas. A squadron under his command carried this principle into action on meeting with a squadron under Blake in May. Blake, though with a smaller force, attacked him there and then; and so began the first Dutch war. For two years it was stubbornly waged by admirals of the highest class on both sides, neither being able at any time to achieve a decisive superiority, though on the whole the balance of success lay slightly in favour of the English, and more markedly so at the end of the war. It was during this war that Tromp hoisted to his masthead the broom which signified that he would sweep the English off the seas, and Blake responded by hoisting the whip which was the parent of the English naval pennant.

1652. The Dutch war begins, May.

The reorganisation of the navy, which had indeed begun as early as the year of Naseby, and was coloured by the same principles as those which had given birth to the New Model Army, was bearing fruit. It was perhaps the most striking exemplification of the vigour and capacity which characterised the administration, and of the national vitality. Emerging from a great civil war which had strained its resources both of blood and treasure, England had nevertheless been able to bear the immense drain of the Irish and Scottish wars, and at the same time to launch and maintain a fleet which proved itself rather more than a match for the greatest of maritime powers. An essentially unpopular government had been able to impose an unprecedented weight of taxation, direct and indirect, on the whole country, and had built up the best army and the best navy to be found anywhere. And it had even raised its revenue without any flagrant injustice to the defeated party; it was not till the summer of 1651 that it sequestrated a large number of Cavalier estates; even a few months after the battle of Worcester it passed an Act of

Strength of the government.

Oblivion for acts done before that date, though the lands which had been seized were not restored.

Broadly speaking, though the Rump did not deal tenderly with its opponents, it was less harsh than might reasonably have been expected. It still interfered with the liberty of the Press, but with nothing like the severity of Laud and the Star Chamber. By a repealing Act in 1650, the Roman Mass was still prohibited, but otherwise freedom of worship was permitted; though the Anglicans were expelled from the churches whose pulpits were handed over mainly to Presbyterians, Baptists, or Congregationalists. On the other hand, it did not add to its popularity by its austere enactments based on the theory that it is the business of the State to punish breaches of the moral laws, by penalising Sabbath-breaking, profane swearing, and the like. It endeavoured, in short, to enforce Puritan ethics by Act of parliament, a process the futility of which was demonstrated by the reaction after the Restoration. **Its unpopularity.**

In view then of the great material difficulties of the situation, and of the moral difficulties with which any government must be faced when party passions run so high that the just appreciation of opponents is almost impossible, the Commonwealth government with all its defects may fairly claim to have 'deserved well of the republic.' But it had other defects which we have not noted. Some of its members were not free from that corruption which had conspicuously characterised the governments of James I. and Charles I. Some of them regarded posts in the public service as perquisites of their own relations. Most of them had a fixed conviction that they were themselves the only fit and proper persons to rule the State whose security depended on their being confirmed as a permanent oligarchy—a view not altogether unreasonable, since it was absolutely certain that a republic could only last while the minority ruled over the majority. **Its defects.**

The Rump also was emphatically jealous of the army; and the army on behalf of its own leading officers was growing more and more jealous of the Rump. As the year 1652 advanced,

the officers began to press for more energy in legislative reform, and for the election, under proper safeguards, of a new parliament to take the place of that which had been elected a dozen years before under quite different conditions. The army, in fact, was groping after an alternative to the oligarchy, embarrassed at the same time by the fact that it could not appeal to unlimited democracy, because the majority of Englishmen repudiated its own ideals. Cromwell himself had always been conscious that some sort of monarchical element was needed to co-ordinate policy and to prevent a single-chamber government from becoming arbitrary and tyrannical.

The army and the Rump.

At the beginning of 1653, then, a crisis was approaching. The Rump was making a reluctant show of increased legislative activity, and of coming to an agreement as to a remote date for its own dissolution, which could be accomplished only by its own act, or by its forcible ejection. It gave consideration to a bill providing for a new election, with securities against the admission of disaffected persons. For a time Cromwell held in check the officers who, headed by Lambert, the most distinguished among them since Ireton's death, were pressing for a forcible dissolution. But it became known that the Rump was preparing a plan, not for a general election, but for the filling up of vacant seats virtually by the co-option of the sitting members. On 19th April Cromwell conceived that he had obtained a promise from Vane and other leading members to defer proceeding with their bill until some solution satisfactory to the army had been reached. Next morning news was brought to him that the House was proceeding with its own bill. He hurried down with a detachment of soldiers, whom he left outside while he went in and took his seat. When the question whether the bill should be passed was about to be put, he saw that the moment had come for crossing the Rubicon and ejecting the parliament, or submitting to the perpetuation of an oligarchy. He rose, denounced their proceedings in unmeasured terms, called in the soldiers, and cleared the House. On the same afternoon he dismissed

1653. The crisis.

The Rump ejected, 20th April.

the Council of State. There was no longer any body in England having any sort of legal authority to conduct the government. That responsibility was simply assumed by the officers of the army.

II. Oliver, 1653-1658

Cromwell did not want to be a military dictator; the army did not want to usurp the functions of government. What they wanted to find was a form of government not conducted by themselves, but imbued with their own principles, representative of the nation, and zealous for the welfare of the nation. Unfortunately the second qualification was incompatible with the first. No body imbued with their principles could be representative of the nation; and no body representative of the nation would be satisfied till it was free from military domination; in the absence of which no representative body would give effect to the principles the army loved. And the army would not be satisfied with any body which did not give effect to its principles. The practical effect was that for the next five years one experiment after another was tried, and each one failed, while the government was actually carried on by the power of the sword and the mastery of one man.

An era of experiments.

The first experiment was the Nominated Assembly of 1653, sometimes called the Little Parliament, but most commonly the Barebones Parliament in derision—an appellation derived from the name of one of the members, 'Praise-God' Barbone. The idea was that the Nominated Assembly should act until some method of procuring a safe representative assembly could be decided on. It was to consist of men who had in them the 'root of the matter.' Cromwell would have put into it men of all shades of opinion, such as Fairfax and Vane, provided they were unmistakable Puritans; but Fairfax and Vane would have nothing to say to it. Finally, a list of suitable and godly persons was obtained from the congregational ministers throughout the country, from which with some additions one hundred and forty names were selected,

1653. The Barebones Parliament.

including six to represent Ireland, and five to represent Scotland. One of them, Anthony Ashley Cooper, was to achieve celebrity a generation later.

The experiment was a melancholy failure. The members were full of reforming zeal, but were totally devoid of administrative experience. They met together in high hopes that the rule of the saints had begun. The creation of this parliament had been the work of a new Council of State of ten members established by the army officers when the old Council of State was dissolved. This new council was now in turn dissolved, and a fresh council of thirty-one members appointed. Then the parliament gave vent to its reforming energies with more zeal than discretion. It attacked grievances, the Court of Chancery, the excise, the expenditure on the army, without considering whether it was practically possible to do without them. At the same time it failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Fifth Monarchy men, the zealots who believed that the Empire of Christ was now to take the place of the four empires of antiquity, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. It was assailed on all sides by ridicule and abuse; the more level-headed of the members realised the hopeless incompetence of the assembly, and at a carefully concerted gathering dissolved themselves on 12th December.

Its collapse.

Meanwhile Lambert and the officers had prepared their own scheme for a constitution. Four days after the dissolution of the Nominated Assembly they issued what was called the Instrument of Government. Authority was to be vested in an elected Protector, a nominated Executive Council of fifteen increased by co-option to twenty-one, and a parliament of four hundred English members with thirty from Scotland and thirty from Ireland The franchise was restricted by a high property qualification, while every one who had been in arms against the parliament was disqualified, as also were Roman Catholics. The Protector, Oliver Cromwell, was to control the Executive. With him lay the direction of the militia and the navy, of war and peace, though he was to consult with parliament when in session, and

The Instrument of Government, 16th December.

at other times with the council. When parliament was not sitting, the Protector might issue ordinances with the consent of his council; but, when parliament had met, the ordinances must be submitted to it for ratification. The Protector had no veto on the parliament's legislation unless it ran counter to the Instrument of Government; and parliament alone controlled taxation and supply, apart from the provision of a permanent revenue for the maintenance of the ordinary civil administration and of an adequate army and fleet. Parliament was to be assembled not less than once in three years, and was to sit for not less than five months. The first parliament was to meet on 3rd September 1654, the anniversary of Cromwell's victories at Dunbar and Worcester. In the interval all the functions of government were to be discharged by the Protector and the council. Freedom of worship, so long as it was consistent with public order, was to be permitted to all professed Christians except Romanists and Prelatists.

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, 16th December.

The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell began on 16th December 1653, the soldiers who controlled the situation in Scotland and Ireland accepting the constitution. For some nine months the Protector had a free hand, though his ordinances were to come before parliament for ratification when it assembled. For the settlement of religion, the parish churches with their stipends were given to ministers, of whatever denomination, who were recommended satisfactorily to a commission of 'triers'; but persons who did not choose to attend parish churches were generally allowed liberty of conscience. Anglicans, though not Romanists, were allowed the private use of their own ritual, and were generally permitted to assemble in larger congregations than the law actually authorised. Cromwell, in fact, was more tolerant than the law, because he could not venture to make the letter of the law so tolerant as he wished. Thus a practical protection was in effect extended even to Romanists on one side, and on the other to the then extremely eccentric sect of the Quakers which had recently been founded, and even to Jews who began in small numbers to find an asylum in a country from which they had

been practically excluded for three and a half centuries. In another field he endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to reform the abuses of the Court of Chancery, and his appointments to the Bench were free from partisan bias and were directed to the selection of the most competent judges.

The conquest of Ireland in the first years of the Commonwealth by Cromwell, Ireton, and Ireton's successor, Ludlow, left that country in a pitiable condition. Neither the Rump which was supreme in 1652, nor Cromwell, dreamt of applying to Ireland those principles of leniency towards the vanquished which they prided themselves on having adopted in England and Scotland. The estates of Catholics were confiscated on a larger scale than even the Tudor confiscations, by the Act of Settlement in the summer of 1652. By the same Act tens of thousands of persons were excluded from pardon as rebels, and were rendered liable to the death penalty, though as a matter of fact only some three hundred, who were convicted of participation in massacres, were actually put to death. The forfeitures, however, were rigidly carried out, largely for the benefit of the Puritan soldiery who were disbanded and settled in plantations. In the following year an attempt was made to sweep the whole Catholic population into Connaught, with the object of preventing a repetition of that fusion between the settlers and the natives which had hitherto from time immemorial tended to transform the colonists into Irishmen. The attempt failed because the peasants would not move unless they were driven by force, and the settlers also opposed a passive resistance to their expulsion, because their labour was needed. Practically, however, nearly all the Catholic gentry, and the comparatively wealthy Catholics in the towns east of the Shannon, were ejected, and as a class were hopelessly ruined. English and Scots, sprung chiefly from the yeoman or burgess classes, became possessed of most of the soil, and, almost exclusively, of the full rights of citizenship. The Ireland represented in the Protectorate parliament was the Puritan Ireland of English and Scots who, numerous as they were, could never be more than a garrison dominating a larger

1652-6. The settlement of Ireland.

The effects.

population intensely hostile to the Anglo-Scottish Protestant ascendency; and no efforts of the government could prevent their intermixture with the native Irish.

Scotland after Worcester yielded a sombre acquiescence to the English ascendency, and felt no gratitude for the generosity on which the English parliament plumed itself. Royalist hopes revived with the expectation that the Dutch war, by absorbing the energies of the English fleet, would facilitate the introduction into Scotland of troops from the Continent. The expulsion of the Rump and the apparent insecurity of the government in England gave them further encouragement, and a rising in the north was planned under the earl of Glencairn and General Middleton. But it was not till the beginning of 1654 that the insurgents were able to assemble in arms, when the Protectorate had already begun in England. General Monk, whom Cromwell had left in Scotland as his lieutenant, and who had subsequently been withdrawn to act as one of the most capable of the English admirals against the Dutch, was sent back to Scotland to suppress the Royalist insurgents and establish the Protectorate government in April. Middleton was no Montrose; no sudden blaze of insurrection was to be feared; the Protector was coming to terms with the Dutch, and Monk's first step was to pacify public sentiment by the proclamation of the new order. Scotland was to have thirty representatives in the parliament of the Commonwealth of which she formed a part. The Scots were to enjoy the same commercial privileges and rights as Englishmen. The common folk were to be relieved from the feudal jurisdictions which still survived in full force, and were to have the protection of the common law in new popular courts. An indemnity was granted, though with substantial exceptions, for political offences down to 1652. Having issued his proclamations, Monk turned to the business of crushing Middleton, and before the end of the summer the insurrection was practically stamped out. Forts and garrisons were then established at strategic points, and the carrying of arms without a licence was forbidden, while dangerous persons were required to give bonds for their good behaviour.

1653. Scotland.

1654. Monk in Scotland.

The Executive government of Scotland was placed in the hands of a separate Scottish Council, though in it Englishmen were predominant, and the troops which made the government irresistible were English.

As in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, the government was the government of Cromwell, so also in foreign affairs the policy of England was henceforth the policy of the Protector. The two years' war with the Dutch was promptly brought to an end. It was a war which he disliked, because he was always desirous of alliance between the Protestant powers; the religious motive always predominated in his mind, nor did he ever realise how secondary it had become with others. Peace was made the easier by the death of the greatest of the Dutch admirals, Tromp, and by the more decisive successes which latterly attended Blake and the English commanders. Equal as the fighting had been, Holland had suffered far more severely than England from the destruction of the commerce on which the whole of her wealth depended; whereas England could still for the most part produce actual necessities for herself. By the peace which was signed in April 1654, the Dutch acknowledged the English sovereignty of the seas, the Navigation Act continued in force, and the two countries concluded a defensive alliance.

1654. Foreign relations.

The Dutch war ended, April.

The formation of a Protestant league, and the assumption by England of the position of champion and protector of Protestantism, was the root conception of Cromwell's foreign policy; as it had been with the Elizabethan statesmen of Walsingham's school, though not with Elizabeth herself. Elizabethan in the same sense was Cromwell's imperialism, his ideal of colonial development, derived not from Elizabeth, but from Raleigh. He was apparently unconscious of the fact, tolerably obvious to a modern student, that religious differences were ceasing, or had ceased since the Thirty Years' War, to be the principal factors in international quarrels; and he still held to the Elizabethan doctrine that European powers might be fighting each other in America 'beyond the line,' and yet be on friendly terms in Europe.

Cromwell's motive.

Misapprehension of foreign affairs had been a common characteristic of the English politicians in every parliament at least since the death of Robert Cecil, and the Commonwealth statesmen were unable to make up their minds whether France or Spain was now the real enemy of Protestantism. They still looked upon Spain as the premier Hapsburg power; but Spain was now allied with the Huguenot Condé against the French government. The actual fact was that the traditional chief of the Huguenots had been at the head of the faction opposed to Mazarin, as he had been the head of the faction opposed to Richelieu; neither Mazarin's government nor Richelieu's had been hostile to Huguenots as such. But there was a *primâ facie* appearance that Spain was backing Protestants against Catholic tyranny, and that a French government was oppressing Protestants. Also Philip had been hospitable to Blake in 1650, while France had for a long time been more than cold to the regicide republic. As a consequence, Lambert and others advocated alliance with Spain in her prolonged contest with France. **France and Spain.**

Oliver, it would seem, did not see his own way clearly, but in the bottom of his mind there lurked the traditional hostility to Spain in the New World as the bar to expansion, and to Spain in Europe as the champion of Popery. Both Spain and France wanted the Protector's alliance if they could get it on terms satisfactory to themselves. Still English and French had for some time past been making reprisals upon each other at sea, while Puritan New England and the French colony of Acadia to the north were threatening each other. On the other hand, Spain was as reluctant as ever to admit England to trade in the West Indies, or to permit English heretics to practise their own forms of worship on Spanish soil. On the whole, Cromwell seems to have been not indisposed to war with one or other or both of the powers, but with a preference for alliance with France against Spain. So, following what he took to be the precedent of Elizabeth's government, he prepared an expedition, which put to sea under sealed orders with General Venables and Admiral Penn in command, **Oliver against Spain.**

and was intended to emulate the example of Drake in the West Indies. But there was this manifest difference, that the Elizabethan seamen were playing for their own hand at their own risk with no ostensible authority from the government.

The first Protectorate parliament had no sooner assembled than it showed a dangerous spirit by attacking the Instrument of Government itself. The limitation of the franchise had almost but not quite excluded Royalists; but it provided no check upon the multiplication of Presbyterians, who were apt to be antagonistic to toleration, or upon the admission of those who objected altogether to the Protectorate as expressing the domination of the army and of a single man. On the other hand, it had been the primary purpose of the Instrument to give security against a single chamber wielding arbitrary power. Discussion was promptly stopped, and the members were ordered to subscribe to a declaration that they would be loyal to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, and would not attempt to alter in principle the system laid down by the Instrument. The members who refused to sign were thenceforth excluded. The purged House then proceeded to give the Instrument of Government a statutory form, but in so doing it introduced a series of amendments restricting the Protector's powers and extending its own. It proposed at the same time to reduce the army to little more than half its present numbers. It was in fact obviously tending to seek means for securing to itself the same supremacy as that of the Rump.

The first parliament, September-January.

The army and the Protector, on the other hand, were thoroughly aware that Cromwell's supremacy was a necessity if their principles were to be maintained. Already there had been one plot to assassinate the Protector, and Royalist conspirators would manifestly be encouraged by anything that tended to diminish his authority; the parliament was heading towards its destruction. The Instrument had not specified calendar months in giving parliament a minimum duration of five months; soldiers and sailors received their pay by approximate lunar months of twenty-eight days. On the last day of the fifth month so

1655. Oliver dissolves the parliament.

reckoned, 22nd January 1655, Cromwell dissolved the parliament which, strong in its civilian and republican principles, had refused to recognise that only the sword could preserve the existence of the Commonwealth at all.

Under the Instrument the Protector was absolute whenever parliament was not in session, and he was not required to call another parliament for a couple of years. But now there was no veiling the naked fact that he was a military dictator, whether by his will or against it. Alike to Levellers, Royalists, literary republicans, and Fifth Monarchists, such a consummation was altogether to be condemned. Though they would not combine together against the Protector, each was ready to assail and none to support him; though his fall could only have produced sheer anarchy, as was shown clearly enough when he laid down the burden of life. But the army was loyal to the chief who maintained his rule; an arbitrary rule, because it could be nothing else, but a just rule, or at least a rule which strove its utmost to be just; and a rule which while he lived made the name of England feared as it had not been feared for half a century past—as it had hardly been feared even in the days of Drake.

Adversaries.

Disaffection then was widespread, but lacked the homogeneity necessary to make it really dangerous to an extremely efficient administration. One or two democratic conspiracies were nipped in the very early bud. The plotters who were organising a Royalist rising found their plans anticipated by the watchful vigour of the government. Nevertheless an abortive attempt was made, known as Penruddock's rising. A party of Cavaliers, headed by John Penruddock, made a raid on Salisbury to seize the persons of the judges at the opening of the assizes. They got no support and had to take flight. On the countryside, if any one rose, it was against the insurgents. Some were captured, a dozen were executed, and some scores were dispatched to Barbadoes after the precedent of Preston and Colchester. In effect the whole affair only provided the government with justification for severe dealing with suspects.

Penruddock's rising, March.

In these circumstances the military character of the government was in effect avowed by the division of the country into ten districts, with a major-general in each, who not only had control of the militia, but was practically empowered to direct the whole of the local administration. Cromwell had attempted to allay popular discontent by a great reduction of the direct taxation, the monthly assessment. But with expenditure already exceeding revenue this produced a heavy deficit; and the Protector was driven to the expedient, which he had condemned when resorted to by parliament, of making the Cavaliers pay. They were subjected to a ten per cent. income-tax known as the Decimation. Puritans of the more bigoted type were also gratified by more stringent regulations against the ministration of episcopalian clergymen. Royalists who had taken part in plots against the Protector himself were made subject to very severe penalties. It is generally admitted that the major-generals made no tyrannical use of their powers; the regulations (except the decimation) directed against Royalists and episcopalian clergy were rarely enforced, but were held in reserve as a weapon to be called into use if necessary; still the fact remained that Englishmen had the strongest objection to military rule, however just it might be, and also to their compulsory subjection to Puritan standards of conduct.

The major-generals, October.

The expedition of Penn and Venables sailed in December 1654, while the first Protectorate parliament was still sitting. Then, and for some months afterwards, Cromwell was negotiating with Spain as though no attack were being made on Spanish dominions, and in the early summer he was assuming an extremely threatening attitude towards France for apparently countenancing the persecution of the Protestant Vaudois, the

The Vaudois.

> 'Slaughtered saints whose bones
> Lie scattered in the alpine mountains cold,'

by the regency of Savoy. Public feeling in England, expressed in Milton's sonnet, was roused to a high pitch of intensity. Mazarin, anxious to secure the friendship of England, brought

pressure to bear on the Savoy government, and the persecution was stopped. He was rewarded by a treaty of peace and amity between France and England, which was signed on 24th October.

Meanwhile Blake had been raising still higher the prestige of the British Navy—British we may call it at this time, since under the Protectorate the British Isles were incorporated as a single state. For years the seas had swarmed with pirate fleets issuing from Moorish ports from Tunis to Tangier. Blake, in command of a Mediterranean squadron, originally intended to act against France, destroyed a Moorish squadron under the guns of the fort and batteries of Porto Farina, the first example of a fleet's successful attack upon land fortifications and batteries.

Blake in the Mediterranean, April.

By this time the fleet in the West Indies had failed disastrously in attacking Hispaniola; incidentally, however, it captured the island of Jamaica, by which no one at that time set any store, though having taken it England held on to it. Though Drake's raiding three-quarters of a century before had not been treated as a *casus belli*, the performance of the official fleet of the Commonwealth involved the open declaration of war with Spain, and hastened the French treaty.

Jamaica captured, May.

Under the Instrument of Government the Protector, in the event of war with a foreign power, was required to summon parliament, irrespective of the Triennial law. To this course, accordingly, Cromwell made up his mind, and the second Protectorate parliament was called, and met in September 1656. It contained a powerful opposition element. Cromwell, however, felt his personal position to be strong. Only a few days before, an English squadron under Captain Stayner had caught the Spanish Plate Fleet, utterly destroyed it, and was now on its way home with half the treasure aboard, the rest having gone down with the ships. Cromwell justified his Spanish war to the new parliament, ordered it to attend to its real business of reforming unjust laws, such as the monstrous disproportion between petty crimes and the savage penalties they involved, and with his Council

1656. The second parliament, September.

turned out of it all the weighty members of the Opposition, practically ejecting some hundred and fifty members. The parliament thus purged was practically at his orders, and voted the supplies demanded. About the same time Cromwell withdrew the major-generals whose appointment had served its purpose, while the system was too unpopular for employment except in extreme emergency.

No one could feel that the form of the existing constitution was satisfactory. That the actual government was strong and resolute, that it protected life and property, that it aimed at righteousness, that it had raised the national prestige, that the administration of the public services was efficient and clean, that it controlled the finest fighting fleet on the seas, were all undeniable facts. On the other hand, it was equally clear that its success depended upon the personality of the Lord Protector, a man no longer young, and already becoming worn out by the tremendous burden borne upon his shoulders; a man, too, whose life was always in some danger from assassination, as the public were reminded by the discovery of another murder plot. It was imperative that some system should be arrived at which should secure the state from being plunged into anarchy by his death. Among the officers there was no one who, like Oliver, could dominate the public imagination, no one whom the rest of the officers would willingly acknowledge as supreme. Another Lord Protector wielding the same powers could hardly fail to become a tyrant; another less powerful Lord Protector would be a puppet in the hands either of the army or a single chamber, alternatives each of which was more than alarming.

1657. If Oliver should die?

There were then definite reasons for suggestions that a hereditary monarchy should be revived in the house of Cromwell, and for the revival of a second chamber. A king was intelligible; a monarchy looked more legitimate than a Protectorship. Lawyers also remarked that whereas the law of treason would, in the conceivable event of a Stuart restoration, protect those who had supported a *de facto* king, the Act of Henry VII. might not be held to cover the

Proposals for making Oliver king.

supporters of a usurper who was not a king. A second chamber would also provide guarantees against any attempt by the House of Commons to convert itself into a permanent oligarchy, or arbitrarily to overturn existing settlements. These considerations issued in the presentation by parliament of what was called the Humble Petition and Advice. It proposed that Oliver should be given the title of king; that there should be a second House of Parliament, consisting primarily of Cromwell's nominees, but, once it should be constituted, no new members were to be added except with its own consent. Similarly, membership of the Executive Council was to be permanent, and its consent was to be necessary to the admission of new members, and to removals. A fixed annual revenue was to be provided for the public services, and additional supplies were to be obtainable only from parliament. There was to be toleration for all Christian sects except Papists and Prelatists. No one elected to parliament was to be excluded except by the order of the House.

The Humble Petition and Advice, March.

There is no doubt that Cromwell would have preferred to accept the Petition and Advice as it stood. Many of the officers, headed by Lambert, the deviser of the Instrument of Government, were opposed to it altogether. The full-blooded republicans objected to the monarchical principle *in toto*. The Petition was presented on 31st March. Cromwell hesitated for long, but at last, on 8th May, he refused the title of king, but in other respects assented to the Petition. Parliament reluctantly acquiesced, and Oliver was formally installed, with almost the pomp of a coronation, as Protector for life with the power of nominating his successor.

Oliver declines the crown, May.

Meanwhile Blake had been achieving the greatest of his triumphs on the seas. The Spanish Plate Fleet on its way from the West Indies took refuge from him in the bay of Santa Cruz at Teneriffe, a harbour with fortifications of immense strength. There in a seven hours' battle the forts were completely silenced, and the Spanish fleet was annihilated. It was Blake's last victory, for he died even while his ship was entering Plymouth Sound.

Blake at Teneriffe, April.

The offensive alliance with France against Spain was formed in March. In effect its immediate object was the establishment of France in the Spanish Netherlands, and the delivery to England of the ports of Dunkirk and Mardyke; England was once more to hold a gateway into the Continent, an entry which she had lost by the capture of Calais one hundred years before. An English contingent of six thousand men under an English commander, but maintained by the French, was to co-operate with Turenne. The attack was to be made upon Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Mardyke. When Turenne was joined by the English contingent and opened the campaign, he seemed to Cromwell to be much too intent upon conquering the interior; but the Protector's remonstrances were effective, and in September Mardyke was taken.

Campaign in the Netherlands.

Parliament, which had adjourned after the carrying through of the Humble Petition and Advice, met again in January 1658. Meanwhile Cromwell had selected his new House of Lords, but not all his nominees chose to accept. Manchester and other peers refused; there were actually only two peers among the forty-two who assembled. In their number were included some thirty of Cromwell's warmest adherents from the House of Commons, to which the Republicans, excluded on its first assembling, were readmitted. With the Cromwellian element thus seriously weakened, while the hostile party was immensely enlarged, the Commons proceeded to follow the example of the previous parliaments. They turned upon the new constitution and attacked the new House of Lords. Cromwell urged them to get to business; they went on with their amendments of the constitution. Royalists once more began to take heart; the Protector knew that Ormond was in London, preparing to organise insurrection. On 4th February he came down to the House and dissolved his last parliament. The government had information of such conspiracies as were on foot, and they were promptly suppressed by the arrest of the ringleaders, some of whom were executed.

1658. The impracticable parliament dissolved, February.

In March, the French alliance was renewed for another year.

The numbers of the English troops in the Netherlands were made up by reinforcements. At the battle of the Dunes a decisive victory was won, chiefly owing to the brilliant valour of the English regiments, which in the course of the fight almost annihilated the Cavalier regiments who were fighting for the Spaniards. For at this time the exiled Charles was residing at Bruges in the Spanish Netherlands, under the ægis of the Spanish king whose friendship he had sought, and to whom he had made many promises when the Commonwealth went to war with Spain. The immediate fruit of the victory was the capture of Dunkirk by the allies, whereby it became an English possession; and it soon became apparent that the French, aided by English troops, would drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands altogether, unless they made haste to seek peace. The deference shown to Cromwell by the French government demonstrated the height of power which the Commonwealth had achieved under his guidance.

Battle of the Dunes, 4th June.

But the great Protector's days were already numbered. His health was shattered by the tremendous strain—physical, moral, and intellectual—which he had borne for ten years past. He had entered on his sixtieth year some weeks before the victory of the Dunes. The shock caused by the death of his favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, at the beginning of August broke him down. He was stricken with an ague. He found the strength was departing from him; he was willing to live and work, willing also to die and be at rest. While he lay dying a furious storm was raging, a fit accompaniment to the ending of a life so full of turmoil. On 3rd September the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, the great lonely rugged spirit passed away.

The passing of Oliver.

III. The End of the Commonwealth, 1658-1660

Oliver on his deathbed had named as his successor his eldest son Richard; perhaps with the idea that this was the likeliest way of establishing a dynasty; for he can hardly have supposed that the young man was fitted to take up the father's

burden. Richard was endowed with estimable qualities, but with no great vigour—mental or moral. The father was recognised and revered by the army as the greatest military chief of the day; to that army the son was a mere cipher. Lambert had been dismissed from his command a year before; the principal officers, Fleetwood and Desborough, were connected with the young Lord Protector by marriage, and were well disposed towards him; but they felt that the army must have from the new régime some guarantee that it would not now be overridden by civilians. A committee of officers proposed that Fleetwood should be made commander-in-chief, with full power to appoint officers. Richard rejected the petition, and called a parliament which met in January 1659.

Richard Cromwell, Protector.

The Republicans, Vane, Ludlow, and Lambert, with their following, found themselves in a minority when they attacked the new Protectorate and the House of Lords. It was perhaps their association with Lambert which made them turn to the army as a possible instrument. Ludlow, too, had held the chief command in Ireland until the first beginning of the Protectorate; but it was a strange thing to see the high republicans appealing to the army against the parliament. The officers presented a petition which the Protector passed on to the Commons, and which was by them ignored at first, and then answered by a resolution forbidding general meetings of the officers. Richard dissolved the council of officers; whereupon they, feeling that a crisis had arrived, demanded that parliament should be dissolved, promising the Protector their protection. Richard yielded, and the Houses were dissolved by proclamation.

1659. Parliament summoned and dissolved, January-April.

In consultation with the Republicans, the officers then consented that the old Rump should be recalled—it had never dissolved itself, and could therefore claim that it had precisely the same legal authority as when Oliver turned it out of doors. On 7th May the Rump was reinstated and promptly reverted to its old position,

End of the Protectorate, May.

announcing that it would maintain the Commonwealth without a House of Lords and without a Protector. Richard Cromwell accepted the situation and slipped away into an easy obscurity from which he never again emerged, though he lived far into the reign of Queen Anne. Had he been prepared to fight for his position he would probably have been supported by his brother Henry in Ireland, Monk in Scotland, and not a few officers in England for his father's sake. But no one would stir for a man who would not move himself.

The army and the Rump.

Rather more than a hundred members might be assembled in this new-old parliament; about twice as many, who had sat before the application of Pride's Purge, were still excluded. But now that the Republicans had got their Republican assembly, and had got it by the agency of the officers, they had still to reckon with an army which was not at all inclined to allow its own claims to be overlooked. The officers began at once to remember the ancient quarrel; to ask for a second chamber, and for the appointment of Fleetwood as commander-in-chief, with optional powers in the selection of officers. The parliament appointed Fleetwood, but it placed the selection and rejection of officers in the hands of a commission which included the civilian Republicans, Vane and Hazelrigg. Again the hopes of the Royalists rose; Charles's shrewdest councillor, Edward Hyde, had information which led him to expect that Monk in Scotland and Montague, who had been associated with Blake in the fleet, might declare for a Stuart restoration.

Insurrection suppressed, August.

But leading men in England were in no hurry to assume responsibility for forcing on another revolution. The army was still powerful, and its disintegration could not be counted upon. So, though a rising was concerted, when the appointed day came, in August, there were merely sporadic outbreaks which everywhere came to nothing, except in Cheshire. There a comparatively large force was assembled. Lambert with half a dozen regiments was dispatched to suppress it; the soldiers had not forgotten their business, and the insurgents were dispersed at Winnington Bridge.

The insurrection had not overturned the Commonwealth, but it stiffened the officers who agreed to demand that Fleetwood's office should be made permanent, and that Lambert, Desborough, and Monk should be established as next in command. The matter reached the ears of parliament, which passed resolutions against the existence of general officers. As the strained relations continued the Republicans resolved to assert themselves once for all. They annulled all the ordinances of the Protectorate which had not been confirmed by parliament. They cancelled the commissions of Lambert and other officers, and placed the supreme command of the army itself in commission. Thereupon Lambert convened a gathering of officers, and, being sure of their support, he proceeded with his regiment, on 12th October, to shut up the Parliament House. For the second time the Rump had tried a fall with the army; with the same result on the second occasion as on the first. Once more the officers had to devise a form of government. As a temporary solution they appointed a committee to take over the task and to carry on the government in the interim. The committee was joined by Vane and others, who recognised that, however strongly they might object to such arbitrary arrangements, the government must be carried on somehow.

The army ejects the Rump, October.

A committee of government.

In Scotland, however, was George Monk, who had hitherto attended strictly and very effectively to his own business, the business entrusted to him, whatever it might happen to be. Monk, watching events, was inclined to think that it might now be his business to judge for himself how the country must be governed, and to give his judgment effect. It had been one thing to serve Cromwell, it was quite another to leave a committee of soldiers, with apparently no clear ideas as to what they wanted, to override parliament. He prepared to march into England at the head of his troops as soon as he felt satisfied that it would not be dangerous to withdraw his army from Scotland. He dispatched three commissioners to England to negotiate with the new government, which in its turn dispatched Lambert to the north with authority to treat, and with

George Monk, November.

a force which could reason with Monk. For some weeks negotiations went on, neither of the generals crossing the border. Monk reckoned that time was in his favour; Lambert had the stronger force on paper, but it was more likely to break up. Moreover, Monk opened communications with Fairfax, who hitherto had steadily refused to take upon himself any political responsibilities, but had not lost his hold on the affections of the army, or the respect of his countrymen. Monk knew that if he could secure the co-operation of Fairfax, Lambert would cease to count.

In fact, the army officers did not know their own minds. The committee in London proclaimed that a new parliament was to be assembled in February, but another combination of officers and Republicans, with the city of London at their backs, and the support of the fleet, effected another *coup d'état*, and once more installed the Rump on 26th December. By that time Monk and Fairfax were ready to act. On 2nd January 1660, the troops from Scotland crossed the Tweed; Lambert's army melted away; Monk marched southward amid constant demonstrations in favour of a full and free parliament—a description which did not apply to the Rump. He reached London in the first week of February.

1660. Monk comes to England, January.

It was Monk's rôle—and there is no fair ground for denying his honesty—to stand as the champion of law; it was not his policy to enforce this or that particular theory of government, but to establish a government with public opinion behind it. For the moment he and his troops were at the service of the acting government, but it did not take him long to learn that public opinion demanded as the first step the recall of the Long Parliament as a whole, not merely of the fragment which had usurped its functions. The members for the City of London were among those expelled, and the city was now refusing to pay taxes until they were reinstated. Within three weeks of the general's appearance in London, the excluded members were readmitted. At the end of another three weeks the Long Parliament, thus reinstated, had dissolved itself. But before doing so it had arranged for the calling of a free parliament to meet on 25th

The Long Parliament restored, February.

April, a parliament to which Royalists were eligible, and in the elections to which Royalists might vote, though with a formal limitation which was practically inoperative. Also it had given order for the recognition of the Solemn League and Covenant, a significant step since that document professed loyal allegiance to the Crown. At the same time it had shown its Presbyterian proclivities by adopting the Westminster Confession, the formula of faith drawn up in 1650 by the Assembly of Divines, chiefly Presbyterian.

It dissolves itself, March.

A Stuart restoration had not hitherto been openly mooted, but Monk was now all but satisfied that a Stuart restoration was the one solution which would be hailed with general accord. As a result of his secret communications with Charles at Bruges, that very astute prince removed himself from Spanish territory—hostilities in the Netherlands had been ended by the Treaty of the Pyrenees the year before—took up his quarters at Breda in the Dutch republic, and sent over to Monk the proclamation known as the Declaration of Breda. Therein he promised to protect liberty of conscience, to grant complete indemnity for the past save to such persons as might be excepted by parliament, to leave parliament to decide as to the validity of the ownership of land which had changed hands in the course of the Revolution, and to pay in full the arrears due to the army before it should be disbanded. As yet the Declaration was kept secret, but Monk was confirmed in the conviction that it would satisfy public opinion by an address from the city of London proposing that Charles should be invited to return to England substantially on the conditions embodied in the Declaration.

The Declaration of Breda.

On 25th April parliament met. Nothing had been said about a House of Lords, except that the Peers who had sided with the parliament should reassemble. The limitation, however, was ignored, and the Lords took their seats as in the ancient days. As soon as the Houses met, Grenville, who had been the agent between Monk and Charles, produced letters from the king written on the lines of the Declaration. The Houses

The Convention Parliament recalls Charles, April.

unanimously resolved that by the fundamental laws of the kingdom the government of the country is, and ought, to be vested in the King, Lords, and Commons. The Declaration of Breda was published, and, amidst overwhelming demonstrations of public satisfaction, Charles was proclaimed king upon 8th May. A fleet was dispatched under Montague, carrying commissioners to invite the king to return. On 25th May he landed at Dover; on the 29th he entered London in state amidst enthusiastic rejoicings. The Puritan ascendency was at an end, and the Restoration was an accomplished fact.

The Restoration, 29th May.

CHAPTER XIV. CHARLES II., 1660-1685

I. The Restoration in England, 1660-1667

NEVER was contrast more complete than that between the great Protector, of whom for generations after his death men spoke as a usurper, a tyrant, and a hypocrite, and the prince who, for a like period, was regarded as a well-meaning, good-natured, careless person, wholly given up to amusing himself, too indolent to apply his respectable natural powers to politics; a bad king perhaps, but only because it was too much trouble to be a good one; a humorist at any rate, whose geniality was almost a sufficient excuse for his moral laxity, and whose paganism provided an agreeable, if not altogether praiseworthy, relief from the Hebraic extravagances of his puritanical predecessor. These long accepted verdicts have broken down. The most ardent of churchmen and Royalists now recognise the essential sincerity of Cromwell's character, however strongly they condemn his acts. And Charles stands revealed to modern eyes as quite the cleverest, one of the most determined, and perhaps the most devoid of principle, of all the kings of England. Even to his boon companions he was the king

Reversed verdicts.

> 'Who never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one.'

We know him for the man whose wit and external frivolity masked even from those boon companions his fixity of purpose, intellectual penetration, and consummate duplicity.

Charles II. entered London upon his thirtieth birthday. Since the year when he became sixteen he had passed in Scotland a little more than a year, and in England only the weeks of the Worcester campaign and the escape to Brighton; consequently

he had little enough knowledge of England, though he was under no delusions as to the character of his Scottish subjects. The years of his exile had been passed chiefly in France, partly in the Spanish Netherlands, and for a very small part in Holland. His first cousin was the young king, Louis XIV. of France, who was on the point of taking into his own hands the reins of government so long held by Cardinal Mazarin; Mazarin, who had achieved for the French monarchy that absolute supremacy which Richelieu had prepared. In his exile Charles had watched England, had seen an absolute supremacy aimed at by one man and established by another. He had seen that the first man, his own father, had lacked the power of the sword, had lost repeated opportunities of gaining ground by want of tact, and had failed disastrously. He had seen the second man win by sheer force of character, combined with the power of the sword; and he had developed his own programme accordingly. Not by rugged force, but by tact and management he would achieve the power of the sword, unhampered by those conscientious scruples which had so complicated the native tactlessness of his father. Whatever else might happen, the younger Charles did not mean to go on his travels again; he would not hurry; he would not take risks. The game he would play would be a game of pure skill. And for the playing of that game nothing could serve him better than a popular conviction that there was no seriousness in his composition; to cultivate that conviction would be equally politic and agreeable to his own temperament.

The king's training.

Beside Charles stood a counsellor who was precisely made for the situation at the moment of his return. Edward Hyde was thoroughly versed in public affairs. In the Short Parliament, and at the beginning of the Long Parliament, he had been intimately associated with Falkland, first as a prominent constitutionalist who took an active part in the impeachment of Strafford, then as a leader of the moderates in opposition to the attack on the Church and to the Grand Remonstrance, and from the beginning of 1642 as the soundest of the king's political advisers. For the re-establishment of the monarchy,

Clarendon.

effected not by the Cavaliers, but mainly by the monarchist reaction among the Presbyterians, it was essential that the Restoration should not be vindictive, that it should not revive the intensity of old passions, that it should rest upon constitutionalist foundations. It must be treated as the work not of a triumphant party, but of the nation at large; it must be contrasted with the Commonwealth government as an expression of the popular will—though it soon became evident that this permitted of its treatment as a reaction against Puritanism. With Hyde as minister and Monk as supporter, the king could afford to leave government alone and avoid responsibility for unpopular acts.

Behind Hyde and Monk, behind Cavaliers and constitutional Royalists, Presbyterians who hoped to share the Establishment with the Anglicans, to the complete discomfiture of the sectaries whom they detested—behind all these was another reserve force, of a value not yet to be gauged, but presently to prove the most serviceable of all in the working out of the king's aims: Louis XIV. of France. The root principle of Oliver's foreign policy had been the alliance of the Protestant states; in practice that had worked out into alliance with France, and a superficial amity with Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Brandenburg, powers which by no means coalesced with each other. Moreover, apart from the commercial jealousy of England and Holland, the latter had learnt to regard France as a greater menace than Spain. It was easy to represent friendship with France and hostility to Holland as continuity of foreign policy, the foreign policy which had indubitably redounded to the fame of England. Protestantism, however, would no longer be at the bottom of it, but a personal bond of union between the two kings. The friendship of England might be worth a good deal to Louis. The price Charles wanted for that friendship was money which would release him from bondage to parliament, and the assurance of military support against rebellion at home. The restoration of Roman Catholicism in England was to enter into the bargain, a price which Charles was more than willing to pay if he could do it without risking his crown. But no such

The French alliance.

bargain had been struck as yet; French policy was still in the hands of Mazarin, and it was too soon to feel sure what course Louis would take. But Charles would have no qualms whatever about subordinating the national interests of England to those of King Louis if his personal ends could be served thereby.'

The Convention Parliament, so called as not having been summoned by the royal authority, which had invited King Charles to return to England, was a parliament of Royalists, but not of Cavaliers; for it must be remembered that the majority of the members of the Long Parliament itself and of the Presbyterians in the country had never been republicans; they had not desired the deposition, much less the execution of Charles I. From beginning to end they had resented the rule of the regicides and sectaries. To the Convention the Restoration Settlement was entrusted by Charles and his advisers; though they were at pains to postpone one very important question, that of religion, until a new parliament should be summoned. The Cavaliers of the younger generation who looked to ride roughshod over all those against whom their fathers had fought, the Cavaliers of the older generation who looked for something less drastic, but hoped at least to recover all that they had lost, were doomed to disappointment.

1660. The Convention Parliament.

An Act of Indemnity and Oblivion was ill received by the Cavaliers, and condemned with bitterness as an Act of 'indemnity for the king's enemies and oblivion for his friends.' The land question was settled by no means to their liking. Estates actually confiscated by the Commonwealth government were restored on the plea that there was no legal authority for the confiscation; but the lands with which they had parted by sale were regarded as the legal property of the purchasers, though the sales had been consequent upon the distress and financial pressure resulting from the war and the change of government. The army was disbanded, though occasion was found in an outbreak of the Fifth Monarchists for retaining in the interest of public security the regiment which had accompanied Monk from Scotland, whereby Charles pre-

The settlement.

served the nucleus of a standing army—an innovation the importance of which escaped general attention. Only in one direction was there a display of vindictiveness. The Act of Indemnity did not cover the regicides, the judges who had condemned Charles I., and to this list of exceptions were added a few other names including those of Lambert and Sir Harry Vane. Ten of them were executed; some who escaped abroad were attainted; some were set at liberty, others were detained as prisoners. The bodies of Cromwell and Ireton, and of Bradshaw, the president of the High Court of Justice, were dragged from their graves and hanged at Tyburn. The influence both of Hyde and the king was thrown on the side of lenity. Charles was too good-natured to be superfluously harsh, and was the last man to provoke antagonism wantonly for the sake of a sentiment.

Revenue.

When the Convention turned its hand to financial and constitutional questions which had occupied so prominent a place in the original quarrel, there was no attempt to reverse the Acts of the Long Parliament to which the king had assented. The main source of dispute was removed, on the lines suggested by Cecil fifty years before, by the commutation of all the feudal dues and powers of indirect taxation for a fixed annual revenue, secured in great part upon the excise; which, however unpopular, had proved far too useful a source of revenue to be discarded. No attempt was made to revive the arbitrary courts. It was recognised on all hands that two principles, the supremacy of the common law and taxation—in the widest sense of the term—by consent of parliament only, were not again to be called in question. So far at least the work of Eliot and Pym and Hampden had become part and parcel of the constitution. Charles very soon found that the revenues he could command in England without special grants from parliament were very far from sufficient, even for the normal expenditure of administration apart from the extravagance of a particularly extravagant court.

The principle of compromising between the new Royalists and the Cavaliers was carried into the reconstructed Privy

Council as well as into the enactments of the Convention. It was unsafe to fling aside the claims of prominent members of either group. With Hyde who became Lord Clarendon, Ormond, and Southampton, were Monk, now duke of Albemarle, Anthony Ashley Cooper, now Lord Ashley, and Manchester. Admiral Montague became Lord Sandwich. Old members of the Privy Council were reinstated and balanced by new members. The general result was that the whole body became too unwieldy to be in any real sense a Privy Council, and its functions came gradually to be in part concentrated in an informal inner ring, cabal or cabinet, or to be delegated to special committees; though many years were yet to pass before the Cabinet was to be habitually selected from one parliamentary group. As yet it was only the band of personal advisers in whom the king placed or professed to place particular confidence.

The Privy Council.

The government succeeded in postponing the ecclesiastical question. There could be no doubt at all that in some form or other the Anglican system would be reinstated; the Presbyterians were confident that it must be in a shape modified by Presbyterian ideas in its government, and adapted to Puritan views in its ritual. The king's personal inclinations favoured a wide toleration, because he perceived that toleration for Romanists, which he positively desired, could not be conceded without at the same time granting toleration to Puritan sectaries; but neither Anglicans nor Presbyterians were similarly inclined. Anglicans wanted Anglican uniformity, the repression of every one outside the pale—a not unnatural feeling in view of the treatment they had received, since the desire of retaliation is not easily quenched by Christian charity. The Presbyterians were ready for 'comprehension,' which meant a compromise between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism; but Presbyterians and Anglicans alike were uncompromisingly hostile, both to Romanism and to the sectaries. Charles, the son of an Anglican father and a Romanist mother, with a personal preference for Romanism and a conviction that monarchy needed the Roman or the Anglican system, long laboured under the delusion that the Anglicans could be recon-

The religious question.

riled to Rome by degrees, and hoped for a Roman restoration. It was only towards the end of his reign that he realised the truth and accepted the facts.

But Charles was much too acute to press to the front a programme which he did not wish to reveal until he was assured that it would be safe. For the moment, what was palpably of importance was to prevent the Presbyterians from taking alarm. The king and Clarendon were careful to foster the impression that comprehension was to be the basis of the new settlement. Presbyterian divines were included among the royal chaplains, and while the Convention was still sitting, a declaration was issued—though the episcopate had as a matter of course been restored—restricting the exercise of the bishops' authority pending a revision of the Liturgy by a conference of Anglicans and Presbyterians. The Presbyterians were persuaded to abstain from insisting upon any positive pledge; and thus it became possible to leave the actual settlement not to the Convention, but to a new parliament.

Religious settlement postponed.

The new parliament met in April 1661. It was elected upon the full flood-tide of the monarchist reaction, and consequently it was what the Convention had not been, a Cavalier parliament; a parliament which indeed had no inclination to curtail its own rights, but was nevertheless somewhat more monarchist than the constitutional Royalists or Moderates of the Long Parliament, and more aggressively Anglican.

1661. The Cavalier parliament.

It immediately became apparent that the Presbyterians had made a fatal blunder in taking their own security for granted, and refraining from the exaction of binding pledges. The temper of the House of Commons was at once manifested. But for the king's own urgency it would have refused to confirm the Act of Indemnity; a year later a safety valve was found for its vindictiveness, when Vane was at last tried for his life and executed. It caused the Solemn League and Covenant to be burnt by the common hangman. It denounced heavy penalties against any one who pretended that either or both of the Houses of Parliament could legislate without

Monarchist legislation.

the king. It declared that the Houses could not lawfully levy war against the king, and that the army and navy were in his control—it renounced, that is, the position asserted by the Long Parliament in connection with any Acts following after the Grand Remonstrance of 1641; similarly it repealed the Act of 1642, which had excluded the clergy from the House of Lords, the Privy Council, and secular offices generally; also it restored the jurisdiction of the ordinary ecclesiastical courts, though not of the Court of High Commission, which had been abolished before the Grand Remonstrance.

These measures cleared the way for ecclesiastical legislation which rejected both comprehension and toleration. In the course of a few years a whole series of Acts was passed popularly known as the Clarendon Code, Acts penalising nonconformity of every kind. First came the Corporation Act in December 1661. All holders of municipal offices were to repudiate the Solemn League and Covenant, to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and an oath of Non-resistance (declaring all resistance to the king to be unlawful), and were to receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite within a year of entering upon office. The strength of Presbyterianism lay in the towns, but the Act practically excluded all zealous Puritans from taking part in municipal government.

The Corporation Act.

This was followed in May 1662 by the fourth Act of Uniformity. The promised conference of divines, known as the Savoy Conference, had actually been in session when the parliament was called; but it had broken up without any result. The revision of the Liturgy was left to the bishops and the Anglican clergy, and such modifications as they made were not in the direction of Puritanism. The Act of Uniformity required the Liturgy to be used in every church and chapel. It required every incumbent of a living who was not already in Anglican Orders to be ordained before St. Bartholomew's Day; and all were required to declare unqualified acceptance of the service book. All teachers, university dons, schoolmasters, even private instructors, were to accept the Liturgy and the doctrine of non-resistance. No one might

1662. Act of Uniformity.

teach without a licence from the bishop. This was accompanied by a licensing act applying to printers. No one might set up as a master printer without a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and no book might be published without the *imprimatur* of the same authority. The strength of Puritanism more than of Anglicanism was demonstrated by the Act of Uniformity, since on St. Bartholomew's Day not less than twelve hundred incumbents resigned their livings rather than retain them under the conditions imposed by the Act, which compelled the sincere Nonconformist to separate himself from the Church. Hitherto conformity of conduct alone had been required, and so to conform in non-essentials did not involve any violation of conscience; but the new Act required conformity of opinion, and thereby drove dissenters out of the Church altogether.

For a time there was a lull. But intolerant Anglicanism was not to the mind of the king who, in 1663, encouraged the introduction of a Toleration Bill, which would enable him to exercise a dispensing power relieving particular persons from the operation of the restrictive Acts. The bill was rejected by parliament, which in the following year passed a Conventicle Act, to be in force for three years, forbidding attendance at any form of worship other than that of the Church of England by gatherings of more than four persons, in addition to the household.

1663. Conventicle Act.

In 1665 came the Great Plague of London. The dissenting ministers displayed a heroic self-sacrifice in discharging the duties from which they had been debarred by law, while the London incumbents did not exhibit a similar courage. The contrast threatened to give the Presbyterians a new popularity, and the parliament passed the Five Mile Act, which forbade any dissenting minister who refused to take the Oath of Non-Resistance to come within five miles of his former parish or parishes, or of any place where he had preached, or of any corporate town or borough. This was the last repressive Act before the downfall of Clarendon, the last included in the Clarendon Code. The final disabling statute, the

1665. Five Mile Act.

Test Act, was directed primarily not against Protestant dissenters, but against papists, six years after Clarendon, had disappeared into exile.

Charles at the moment of his return to England had not developed his later idea of freeing himself from parliamentary control by the help of his cousin in France. Philip of Spain had treated him with more consideration in his exile than Mazarin. The French alliance was not popular, and the Spanish war, though it had enabled Blake to revive the glories of the Elizabethans, had been damaging to commerce and displeasing to the mercantile community. Still, within a year of his accession, he decided in favour of France, and his decision was clinched by his selecting for his queen Catherine of Braganza, the sister of the king of Portugal, who was still insecurely seated on the throne from which Philip IV. of Spain had been ejected. The Portuguese alliance thus initiated was destined to play an important part in the relations between the British kingdoms and the Continent for the best part of two centuries, since it gave the British a permanent entry into the Spanish Peninsula.

1661. The Portuguese marriage.

The marriage, moreover, was of permanent importance in another region of the globe. The House of Braganza was willing to pay a substantial price for the English alliance. The dowry of the princess was supplemented not only by commercial privileges and by the cession of Tangier, facing Gibraltar on the African coast, but also by the gift of Bombay which had long been a Portuguese possession, and now became the one portion of actual British territory in India. The other stations of the East India Company were held by grace of native potentates. The acquisition of Tangier had an unpopular but not disadvantageous consequence. As the Duke of Albemarle and Sandwich, on behalf of the navy, remarked, the strain of maintaining both Tangier and Dunkirk simultaneously was out of proportion to their strategical value. Dunkirk was sold to France, and again England was without a foothold on the European continent. But Tangier warranted the raising of additional regiments for its protection. Monk's Coldstream

Tangier and Bombay.

Guards and the Royal Horse Guards were no longer the whole of the standing army at the disposal of the Crown. In accordance with the somewhat puzzling custom of the time, England engaged not to go to war with Spain, but to send troops as auxiliaries to the Portuguese in their struggle with that power. The auxiliaries served their purpose; they helped to save Portugal from being overwhelmed, and her independence was recognised by Spain six years later in 1668.

Designs of Louis XIV.

The Portuguese alliance did not of itself involve active co-operation with Louis, but it virtually precluded friendly relations with Spain as the rival of France; and it encouraged the young French king in his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. Louis had married the eldest Spanish princess not without reluctance, but with a view to the Spanish succession in spite of her conditional renunciation. The actual heir to the Spanish throne was a sickly boy not likely to live, and not likely, even if he lived, to leave posterity. Sooner or later the succession was almost certain to be in dispute between his elder half-sister, the wife of Louis, and his younger full sister, wife of the Emperor Leopold of Austria. That question might be postponed; but Louis had invented on his wife's behalf a claim to the succession in the Spanish Netherlands derived from a local custom which gave to a daughter by the first wife priority over a son by the second wife. Outside of France no one dreamed of regarding the claim as valid, but it was pretext enough for Louis. But the opportunity for applying the doctrine of 'devolution' did not arrive till the death of Philip IV. in 1665.

France and the Netherlands.

With the object in view, nothing could be more agreeable to Louis than hostile relations between England and Holland. Ostensibly he was on friendly terms with both, but the Dutch had information of his scheme in the Netherlands, and if they were otherwise unhampered would certainly oppose its execution to the utmost of their power. By this time Holland had nothing whatever to fear from Spain, but she might have very much to fear from France in possession of the Spanish Netherlands, France with her frontiers pushed up to the borders of Holland. For England also there was a similar

menace in the acquisition by France of what is now Belgium. If we could imagine England as the owner of Piedmont, while Spain was mistress of the seas and was on friendly terms with Italy, we can perceive that the presence of the English in Piedmont would not be a serious menace to Italy; but that if France deprived England of Piedmont, Italy would be seriously menaced by France, and France would be to Spain a more dangerous neighbour than before. That would have been equivalent to a reversal of the situation with regard to the Spanish Netherlands. Spain in the Netherlands could hurt neither England nor Holland, which between them had complete command of the sea; France in the Netherlands could threaten both; therefore it was in the interest of both to keep her out. If they could be set to fighting each other, France could play her own game undisturbed.

And as a matter of fact England and Holland were so absorbed in their mutual rivalries that they were drifting into war. Clarendon perhaps would have sought to prevent it, but Clarendon was not master. To Charles he was supremely useful, but at the same time extremely troublesome—a censor of the morals of the court, a political pedagogue. There was no party with which he was popular; the Cavaliers held him responsible for the Act of Indemnity, the Presbyterians attributed to him their own discomfiture; the courtiers detested his respectability, and were intensely aggrieved that his daughter Anne was the wife of the heir-presumptive, James, duke of York. It was no easy matter for Clarendon to continue in power amid such adverse influences, and though he remained at the helm his actual control was limited.

Clarendon's position.

England and Holland then drifted into war on account of their commercial antagonisms in the Eastern ocean, on the West African coast, and in connection with the Navigation Act, which had been renewed at the Restoration, and at the same time modified so as to exclude Scotland, Ireland and the Colonies from sharing in its benefits, to which they had been admitted by the imperialism of the Commonwealth. They drifted into war, partly because each believed that the other would not fight, each expecting France to bring pressure to bear

Anglo-Dutch hostility.

on the other. Consequently, in 1664, England took possession of the Dutch colony at the mouth of the Hudson in America, asserting a claim to it in right of prior occupation, and at the same time occupied the Dutch stations on the coast of Guinea. The Dutch retaliated by sending a squadron to reoccupy Guinea; the English parliament voted large supplies for a popular war; and in May 1665 war was declared.

Louis did not intervene because his opportunity had arrived for putting forward his claim to the Spanish Netherlands. The war was fought after the old stubborn manner whenever the fleets came in collision. The first victory fell to the Duke of York, who held the supreme command; Prince Rupert now appears as one of the leading English admirals. A little later came a reverse to a fleet under the command of Sandwich. Again parliament voted handsome supplies, though not without disgust at the evident waste of the last provision. In the next year, 1666, there was a great four days' struggle off the Downs. This time Monk was in command again. Under a misapprehension, Rupert, with a large portion of the fleet, had been sent to meet an imaginary French squadron from the Mediterranean, and only returned in time to save Monk from a complete disaster. Though both sides professed to claim a victory, there was no doubt that the advantage lay entirely on the side of the Dutch; nevertheless, precisely eight weeks later the English won a quite indubitable victory off the North Foreland, and wrought much destruction on the Dutch coast.

1665-7. The Dutch War.

In the last year England, and especially London, suffered from a fearful visitation of the plague, which broke out in the capital with a virulence unparalleled since the Black Death, though there had been severe epidemics from time to time. The devastation wrought in London, the horrors of that terrible time, are not exaggerated in the familiar popular accounts which are all mainly derived from the wonderful picture drawn by Daniel Defoe many years afterwards. That picture may be accepted as authentic, though the great realist was probably at the time only a four or five years'

1665. The plague in London.

child. On 3rd September 1666, not six weeks after the victory off the North Foreland, came another calamity, the Great Fire which reduced half London to a heap of charred ruins.

1666. The fire.

The financial loss was immense; and when parliament, meeting a few days later, was faced with another heavy demand for supplies, its indignation was great. On every side it was felt that nothing but reckless squandering and serious peculation could have already exhausted the unprecedented grants which had been made for the war. On the last occasion an innovation had been introduced in the Finance Act by a clause requiring that the supplies voted should be appropriated to the purposes of the war. The intention then had been merely to facilitate borrowing on the security of the grant; the custom being to raise the money immediately by loan, to be repaid as the taxes were collected. Clarendon had then opposed the clause, foreseeing in it the curtailment of the royal prerogative; for it was still the theory that the parliament granted such supplies as it thought fit, while the Crown had the spending of them as it thought fit. Clarendon's foresight was shown by the application of the clause in detail to the grants which were now reluctantly made.

1666. Appropriation of supply.

Nevertheless, owing to the difficulty of borrowing, in consequence of the losses of the London goldsmiths on whose advances the treasury was wont to rely, the Exchequer was in difficulties. The expectation that Louis would interfere actively on behalf of Holland was disappearing, as the French king was eager to open the attack on the Spanish Netherlands. In despite of Clarendon, it was decided to economise by laying up a large portion of the fleet, while negotiations were opened for concluding a peace with the Dutch. The negotiations broke down; and in June 1667 the Dutch took advantage of the naval situation to sail into the Medway and bombard Chatham. The stroke was effective, and England dropped the particular claim which had hitherto blocked the peace. At the same time the Dutch government was well aware that its last success had been in the nature of an

1667. The Dutch in the Medway.

accident, and that it could by no means attempt to dictate terms to its antagonist. The Treaty of Breda (21st July 1667), gave to each party what it had actually won from the other; and the balance was heavily in favour of England, since it left in the hands of England the Dutch colony in America, giving her the whole of the seaboard from French Acadia on the north to Spanish Florida on the south. New Amsterdam was changed into New York, a title given to it in honour of the king's brother.

Treaty of Breda, July.

Clarendon had served his turn. The king was tired of having a tutor; the time had come when he meant to manage matters for himself. Without the royal favour, Clarendon had no support but that of his sombre son-in-law, the duke of York. Each section of the community resented some part of his policy without feeling any gratitude for his treatment of its opponents. The outside public regarded him as personally responsible for every act of the government which it disliked. Now it resented the fact that the Dutch war had been ended without any revenge for the Dutch demonstration in the Medway. Charles was quite willing to make a scapegoat of Clarendon: He was invited to resign the chancellorship. He refused, because resignation might have implied that he admitted the justice of the popular clamour against him. At the end of August, therefore, he was dismissed. Parliament met again in October, and proceeded to impeach the fallen minister. The case for impeachment was absurd and self-contradictory, since he was charged at once with attempting to extend the prerogative and to curtail the royal power. Clarendon wanted nothing better than to face his accusers. Charles wanted nothing of the kind; there might be revelations damaging to himself. He virtually ordered Clarendon to leave the country. Clarendon went with reluctance; his departure was treated as a flight from justice. An Act was passed condemning him to perpetual banishment unless he returned to answer to the charges by 1st February 1668. On that day he was lying at Calais, too ill to complete the journey home on which he had started. The remaining years of his life he passed in France, occupying himself

Fate of Clarendon.

mainly with his monumental history of the Great Rebellion. With easy cynicism and cheerful relief Charles sacrificed the man who so loyally served both him and his father. That father sacrificed Strafford, but only at the cost of intense anguish; the son sacrificed Clarendon without a qualm.

II. The Restoration in Ireland and Scotland, 1660-1667

The formal union of England, Scotland and Ireland as a state with a single legislature enjoying internal freedom of trade and equality of commercial rights had in it a large element of unreality. The conception was so far sound at least that it aimed at unification, the removal of barriers, the assumption of equality between the component parts of the British state. It was unsound, on the other hand, as concerned Scotland, because it was not a voluntary union; as concerned Ireland, because it took count of only a section of the population; and, as concerned both, because the theoretical equality was not practically carried out. The administration of Ireland and Scotland was controlled not by Irishmen and Scots, but by Englishmen. Scotland had not had time or opportunity to feel the advantages of the commercial union. Consequently, when Charles II. was restored to the throne of England, the Commonwealth Union was dissolved, and the automatic reversion to the pre-Commonwealth division was hailed with satisfaction both in Scotland and in Ireland. In neither case was objection raised in England. The English mercantile community could not free itself from the idea that it suffered from Scottish or Irish competition. The union with Scotland was looked upon as a favour granted without any corresponding benefit. As for Ireland, neither union nor separation altered the fact of its subordination. If England, Scotland, and Ireland were all willing, the king was not less so; it would be easier for him to manipulate the three kingdoms separately than as one whole. In his separate kingdom of Scotland, and in the island where Strafford had ruled, there were possibilities of building up standing armies in the

1660. The union dissolved with general approval.

hands of the Crown which might be inconveniently interfered with by a parliament of the three peoples.

In Ireland the re-establishment of the Anglican clergy and the uniform Anglican system presented no great difficulties. The loyalty of the Roman Catholics had after all been of so dubious a character that they could claim no great amount of consideration. The Ulster Scots had been Royalist in much the same degree as their relations in Scotland. The Presbyterian and Independent soldiery, who were so large an element among the settlers, were only Royalist in the sense that they accepted the Restoration. But the consequent division of the country into the three religious groups—the Churchmen, to whom a hundred years later the name of Protestant was curiously enough specifically appropriated, the Catholics, and the Dissenters—was to be fraught in the future with graver troubles than the corresponding division in England.

Ireland: the Church;

The great problem, however, was the land; not the eternal agrarian question of the relation between landlords and tenants, but the immediate question of possession. A vast amount of the land of the country had been confiscated, first in 1642, when it had been distributed among the so-called 'adventurers' who advanced money to the government for the suppression of the Irish Rebellion, and later among the soldiers who effected the conquest between 1649 and 1653. The confiscations had been made mainly at the expense of Catholics, who clamoured for restitution; but the men in possession could not be dispossessed without danger. A compromise was at first formulated in the Declaration of 1660. The adventurers and the soldiers who had received lands as the equivalent for arrears of pay were to remain in possession, or to receive adequate compensation when justice demanded the restoration of the previous owners. Justice demanded full restitution of Church lands and of Ormond's lands; for Ormond's loyalty had been of the most unblemished type. Other Protestants whose lands had been forfeited were in the same category, so were the 'innocent papists' who had not been in arms against the Crown. Papists who were not innocent included all those who had been

the land.

The Declaration of 1660.

in arms against the government before the 'Cessation' of 1643, or who had joined the Catholic Confederacy before that body was associated with the Royalist cause in 1648. Those of them who had surrendered their own lands in exchange for land in Connaught were allowed no claim for restitution. Those who had ultimately served the king were to wait till adequate compensation had been found for those who had taken their places. Only a small minority of the Catholics were included in the list of the 'innocent.'

When the Irish parliament was called in May 1661 the Upper House, which included the bishops and the heads of the old families, wanted modifications unfavourable to the soldiers and to the adventurers, who were largely Presbyterians. The Declaration, however, was enforced by the Act of Settlement which Ormond as lord-lieutenant induced the Dublin parliament to accept in 1662. The same parliament was also persuaded to grant excise and tonnage and poundage as permanent revenue to the Crown, together with the new hearth tax in the place of feudal dues.

1662. An Act of Settlement.

Soon, however, it became evident that the claims for restitution and the claims to compensation between them were much larger than the available land could meet. The Irish House of Commons, which was mainly representative of the settlers, adventurers and soldiers, wanted to have the claims of the Catholics cancelled. The other side pointed out that the adventurers had subsequently obtained from the Commonwealth a great deal more than the original concession to which Charles I. had assented in 1642, and that there was no obligation to recognise these additional concessions. A compromise was at last arrived at in 1665, which secured to the adventurer and the soldier not the whole, but two-thirds of the land he had received, or its equivalent, while the extended grants to the adventurers were in effect cancelled. At the same time papists were excluded from corporate towns, and all holders of municipal office were required, on the analogy of the English Corporation Act, to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and of Non-Resistance. The Act of 1665 was known as the

The settlement of 1665.

Explanatory Act. It need hardly be remarked that it entirely failed to remove from the mind of the Catholic population the conviction that they had been robbed of the land, and that their exclusion from political equality was a monstrous wrong.

In Scotland national feeling resented the appearance of English domination much more acutely than the national intelligence appreciated the material advantage of incorporation. Cromwell had succeeded where Edward I. had failed. He had not indeed conquered Scotland as Edward had sought to do in order to incorporate it, but he had routed one Scots army at Dunbar, crushed another at Worcester, imposed upon Scotland a government maintained by English soldiery, and incorporation had followed. The soldiers had happily not copied the Plantagenet precedent of stirring resentment into fury by tyrannical behaviour; Scottish disgust had only smouldered. But Scotland was not reconciled to English domination; and nothing probably could have done so much to evoke Scottish loyalty as the recovery of complete independence.

Scotland.

John Maitland, earl and afterwards duke of Lauderdale, grandson of Maitland of Thirlstane, the brother of Lethington, is an exceedingly unattractive character whose ascendency for twenty years after the Restoration always seems somewhat surprising. Whatever principles he possessed he was always ready to sacrifice upon the altar of expediency; and expediency usually meant his personal interest. He had been a Covenanter; he had been one of the Scottish commissioners on the 'Committee of both Kingdoms'; one of the commissioners who, in December 1647, entered upon the Engagement with Charles I. Scottish Presbyterianism in 1639 regarded him as an eminently promising young man; but he had not acquired the confidence of Oliver, and he did acquire, though not at first completely, the confidence of Charles II. But in one thing he was consistent, perhaps with no better motive than the desire for personal ascendency. He meant the government of Scotland to be independent of the government of England, and to be in the hands of John Maitland. And his pursuit of the first object did so much towards ensuring Scottish loyalty that in other

Lauderdale.

directions the government was able to proceed with at least a comparative disregard of Scottish popular sentiment.

Scottish Presbyterianism had tried to restore Charles as a covenanted king, nine years before; it could look upon the Restoration in 1660 as in the nature of a fulfilment of its own policy which Cromwell had balked. **The Royalist reaction.** Scotland had never been willingly Republican, partly perhaps because its constitutional development had been so far behind that of England. The Royalist reaction was strong among the gentry, who were rapidly returning to that attitude of hostility to the domination of the ministers which had habitually characterised them, until the resumption of the church lands by Charles I. drove them into alliance with the Kirk.

James VI. had succeeded in making himself far more the master of Scotland than any of his predecessors, by undermining the General Assembly of the Church, and by establishing the system of government through the Privy Council and the Lords of the Articles, elected on a system which ensured to him the support of practically the whole group. The Restoration reinstated that system. In Scotland as in England the principal offices were given partly to Royalists and partly to Covenanters, but not to the party of Argyll. Argyll himself was executed with even less colour of legal justification than Sir Harry Vane in England, but with more justice; for most men felt at least that his death was no unfair retribution for his vindictive treatment of Montrose. In effect the rulers of Scotland were the High Commissioner Middleton, an unqualified Cavalier, his rival, the Secretary Lauderdale, the Earl of Rothes, and James Sharp, who deserted Presbyterianism for the archbishopric of St. Andrews. **1660. The new government.**

A Scots parliament was called at the beginning of 1661; its composition and character was still more significant of the reaction than that of even the Cavalier parliament in England. After the old fashion it delegated its functions to a committee of the Articles. It declared that the armed forces were in the absolute control of the king; that the king could call or dismiss parliament at **1661. The reaction in the Scots parliament.**

his will; that no legislation was valid without the assent of the king or the high commissioner. It voted the king a perpetual revenue which in fact enabled the Crown to establish a standing army in Scotland. It annulled the Acts of the Conventions of 1643 (which arranged the Solemn League and Covenant) and of 1649. It then went on to what was called the Act Rescissory, which repealed all the Acts from 1640 to 1649, on the hypothesis that where those Acts had received the assent of Charles I. that assent had not been free.

Bishops again.

The next move was the reappointment of bishops. Sharp was given St. Andrews; Leighton, a saint, not a politician, the son of the Presbyterian zealot who had suffered at the hands of the Star Chamber nearly twenty years before, accepted the bishopric of Dunblane. They, with two others, received full ordination at the hands of English bishops, and six more bishops were consecrated in Scotland. When the parliament again met in 1662, the bishops were added to the Committee of the Articles. But so far at least the theory was that the system of James, not the system attempted by Charles and Laud, was to be restored.

1662. Spiritual independence.

Acts were then passed requiring office-holders to repudiate the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, and to affirm the principle of non-resistance. No one was to be a teacher except with the sanction of the bishops. The right of lay patrons to present to incumbencies was restored, a measure far more serious from the point of view of the ministers than the establishment of Episcopacy. For it was a denial of the fundamental Scottish doctrine of spiritual independence, the Church's right of self-government; the principle which led to another great disruption almost two hundred years afterwards. The ministers refused to receive their livings at the hands of lay patrons, and an immense number of the manses throughout the country were vacated in consequence, while congregations refused to recognise the new incumbents who ventured to enter upon the vacant livings.

While all this was going on, Lauderdale, the secretary, had been

in London, not in Scotland, and his influence had been exerted to check the violence of the reaction. Middleton and his party attempted to effect the secretary's overthrow by a trick which was known as the 'Billeting Act,' which would have excluded him permanently from office had the king accepted it. The exposure of the trick turned the tables upon them, and Rothes, as Lauderdale's ally, took Middleton's place as high commissioner in the spring of 1663. Lauderdale himself went to Scotland, and reconstructed the selection of the Committee of the Articles upon lines which made that body even more than before a mere tool of the government. Parliament was completely in the grip of the Crown. 'It could touch nothing save what came through the Articles; and nothing could come through the Articles except what had been approved by the Crown.' It at once made haste to provide specially for a substantial standing army. In the autumn it was dissolved, but not till it had passed an Act compelling every one to attend his own parish church; for Lauderdale did not mean to quarrel with the Episcopalians. The Presbyterians were consoled by an Act which would have established national synods if it had been put in force, which it never was. With the dissolution of the parliament, government passed exclusively into the hands of the Privy Council, which in effect meant Lauderdale, Rothes and Archbishop Sharp. At the outset there had been a Scottish Council in London, which included Clarendon, Monk and other Englishmen; but they never shared actually in its proceedings, and now on Lauderdale's return to London it was virtually reduced to the king, the secretary, and Sir Robert Murray. For some time Lauderdale left the management of affairs to Rothes and Sharp. He saw that among persons of influence the reaction was so strong that he could not safely place himself in opposition to it; he saw also that the reactionary programme as concerned church matters was unpopular with the masses, and in some districts more than unpopular; therefore he did not wish to appear personally responsible for its enforcement. So he left Rothes and the archbishop to do the work in their own tyrannical fashion, and to

1663. Fall of Middleton.

1663-6. Rothes and Sharp.

earn the discredit, while biding his time to reap such advantage as might accrue to himself.

That work was the forcing of the population in general to attend the church services and to abstain from other conventicles. Galloway and the south-west country was the region in which covenanting fervour had always been strongest; it was now the region where the largest proportion of ministers had resigned their livings on the revival of patronage. No one will deny that these whole-souled Covenanters had generally been, and were now, bigots who when in power would have rigorously compelled every one else to conform to their own views. Given the opportunity they would have been persecutors. As it was, they became the persecuted, and they faced persecution with a dogged defiance which carried not a few of them into the ranks of those who have suffered martyrdom for conscience' sake. Principles were at stake in which they believed passionately.

The Galloway Whigamores.

If the government had been content merely to establish the new order and to leave the Covenanters to their own devices, some of them might perhaps have babbled treason, but they would have been harmless. The government, however, chose to harry them into conformity, hunting out recusants, imposing upon them arbitrary fines, and quartering soldiers on them till the fines were paid. The pressure transformed many of them into potential rebels. When England went to war with Holland, their sympathies were all with the Dutch. At the same time the 'outed' ministers were able to assemble large congregations in the uplands and moorlands, since towns, villages and churches were closed to them. The government in growing alarm sent soldiers to disperse the meetings, and threatened the landholders with penalties unless they prevented their dependents from attending.

Persecution.

At last, in 1666, a party of Covenanters in Galloway attacked and captured a party of soldiers, taking prisoner Sir James Turner, a soldier of fortune who was in command of them. The papers seized with him showed that he had by no means exceeded his instructions in the brutalities of which he had been guilty. By their attack on

1666. The Pentland Rising.

the soldiers the Covenanters had been technically guilty of rebellion. The countryside was with them; their numbers increased; they found a former soldier of the parliament to take the command and give them a military organisation of a rudimentary kind. They put forth a manifesto, professing loyalty to the Crown, but demanding the restoration of the Covenant. They marched towards Edinburgh, their forces numbering some two thousand men, anticipating a general rising in their support. But no rising took place, and their own numbers dwindled. They fell back by way of the Pentland Hills—wherefrom the insurrection came to be known as the Pentland Rising—and were caught at Rullion Green by the brutal commander of the government troops, Sir Thomas Dalziel. **Rullion Green.** There they were overwhelmed. A hundred prisoners were taken. To some, torture was applied in a vain attempt to extract information, and some scores were hanged. Dalziel went down to the west, and so harried the unfortunate people that they were driven by sheer terrorism to renew their attendance at the parish churches. Nevertheless Rothes and Sharp, by their tyrannical methods, had so disgusted all reasonable men that Lauderdale had no difficulty in getting Rothes removed from the commissionership; and henceforth (September 1667) he was himself the unqualified master of the government of Scotland.

III. The Cabal, 1667-1674

In the closing months of 1667 England was at peace with Holland. Clarendon had fallen, and Lauderdale was master of Scotland. No one took Clarendon's place as actually or ostensibly the first minister of the Crown. Sir William Coventry, one of the leaders of the attack upon him, seemed perhaps to be his probable successor; but Clarendon's fall had been brought about by many enemies who were not at all inclined to be subordinated to Coventry, for whom Charles himself had no liking, and he soon lost all prospect of taking a leading place in the king's private counsels. Besides **1667. The Cabal:**

Lauderdale, who was now to be generally occupied in Scotland, there were four men whom Charles associated as his Inner Council, the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Henry Bennett, who had been made earl of Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, were both Roman Catholics at heart. George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, was the brilliant, fascinating, and dissolute son of the favourite of James I. and Charles I., who by a curious freak had chosen to ally himself politically with the Puritans. Lord Ashley had come into the Privy Council with Monk, who was now practically in retirement; his antecedents and his convictions made him also the political ally of the Puritans, and the persistent advocate of toleration. These five men, Clifford and Arlington, Buckingham and Ashley, and Lauderdale, the sometime Presbyterian, have always been collectively known as 'the Cabal' *par excellence*, because their initials happened to spell that word. But they formed a ministry only in the sense that they were the king's chosen ministers; that one or the other pair enjoyed his confidence when he thought fit to bestow it—for he very rarely bestowed it on the whole group. The one point in which they all really coincided was the desire to relax the intolerant Anglicanism identified with the name of Clarendon, but actually dear to the Cavalier House of Commons.

its character.

Now Charles and his brother, the duke of York, though both at this time avowedly members of the Church of England, were both anxious to see Romanism restored, and to be themselves received into the Church of Rome. The duke's convictions presently triumphed over the dictates of political expediency, and his conversion to Rome was avowed; Charles was not prepared to risk his crown for a Mass. But it followed that the natural inclination of both the brothers was to Clifford and Arlington rather than to Buckingham and Ashley. For the present, however, there was no necessity to make a choice between them. Foreign affairs provided the most prominent question for the moment.

Charles and James.

France, if left to a simple duel with Spain, was sure of a very complete victory. The arms of King Louis in the Netherlands

had been continuously successful. The Emperor Leopold, however, naturally viewed his progress with jealous alarm, fearing with very good reason that Louis intended to repudiate his wife's renunciation of the Spanish succession. But Leopold was hampered by troubles in his own Eastern dominions. Louis had felt secure while England and Holland were engaged in fighting each other; but now that they were at peace there was a danger that they would combine to check his advance in the Netherlands. Therefore it became an object with the French king to obtain the active alliance, or at least the benevolent neutrality of England.

Attitude of Louis.

Charles wanted the French alliance, but he wanted it on his own terms, which were concerned not with national interests, but with personal objects—his own independence of parliament, and the re-establishment of Romanism. These were objects unattainable except with French aid, but they could not be revealed to ministers, certainly not to Buckingham and Ashley. And the English public disliked the French alliance; Clarendon's supposed devotion to it had been one among the many grounds of his unpopularity; therefore it was necessary to set a price upon the friendship of England which would reconcile his subjects. Judging that there was no need for haste, Charles reckoned it worth while to give Louis a demonstration of the importance of the English friendship. So when the extravagant demands he put forward as conditions of neutrality were rejected, he promptly sent an able and honest diplomatist, Sir William Temple, to negotiate an alliance with Holland and Sweden; defensive in the first instance, but also binding the parties to insist upon a pacification between France and Spain upon terms which Louis had already offered with some parade, but only because he had been perfectly confident that they would be rejected. The Triple Alliance was signed in January 1668. In May France and Spain signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which France retained her conquest in Flanders, but gave back Franche-Comté. Louis had in the meantime negotiated a secret agreement with the emperor for the ultimate partition

Attitude of Charles.

1668. The Triple Alliance, January.

of the Spanish inheritance. In public it appeared that the Triple Alliance had forced his hand; but in fact he had used the terms to get his wife's renunciation invalidated so far as concerned his imperial rival.

England was very well pleased with the Triple Alliance, and Charles made the most of it. But the Cavalier parliament was rendered extremely restive by laxity, encouraged by ministers, in the administration of the laws against dissent. Its Anglicanism went deeper than its enthusiasm for royal prerogative. A Comprehension Bill intended to gain Presbyterian support was promptly strangled, and the supplies the House voted fell far short of what had been asked for. In May parliament was prorogued; Buckingham would have risked a dissolution, but Charles was afraid that in a new parliament the Opposition would only be strengthened.

Parliament dissatisfied.

Nearly two years passed before the House actually met again for business in February 1670; and then Charles found that plans for toleration must be dropped. A grant of money for eight years was counterbalanced by a renewal of the Conventicle Act in a more stringent form; after which parliament was prorogued. And in the meantime the division in the Cabal had been becoming more pronounced. It was strongly suspected that the heir-presumptive would soon openly turn Roman Catholic; there was no probability that the king would have a son. The succession of the duke of York would be bad for Buckingham and Ashley, and the succession of a Romanist might endanger the public peace. Buckingham began to press upon the king the acknowledgment of a marriage (which had never taken place) with Lucy Walters, the mother of the eldest of his illegitimate children, the handsome boy whom he had made duke of Monmouth.

1670. A dubious position.

For Charles, then, the time had come to make a pact with Louis. The Triple Alliance represented a policy which he had no intention of carrying out. He had used it only as a method of bringing pressure to bear upon Louis for his own ends. For some time past he had been in communication with the French king to procure his co-operation in the

The king's dupes.

restoration of Romanism in England. A Romanist monarchy in England would be absolutely dependent upon French aid and support, and would be the humble servant of France in carrying out her aggressive policy. The unconscious Buckingham was allowed to believe that he himself was conducting the negotiations, with an entirely different object in view, while he was kept completely ignorant of the secret correspondence, which was confided to no one but the Romanists, Arlington, Clifford, and Arundel.

The issue was the secret Treaty of Dover, signed in May 1670 through the agency of Charles's favourite sister, Henrietta, the wife of the French king's brother, Philip of Orleans. By that treaty Charles undertook to declare himself a Roman Catholic at the first favourable moment— as to which he was left to judge. If he should need men and money, Louis promised him the support of six thousand troops and two million *livres*. The two countries were to make war upon Holland, England contributing six thousand men and not less than fifty men-of-war. The allied armies were to be commanded by the French, the allied fleet by the English. England was to back the French claim to the Spanish Succession, and she was to have three Netherlands ports as her share of the spoils. Arlington and Clifford signed the treaty. This being settled, a second treaty, for later publication, was arranged; to which Buckingham and Ashley were privy. Buckingham, quite unconscious that he was the king's dupe, imagined himself to be its negotiator. His assent and that of Ashley to the Dutch war was procured by promises of toleration for Nonconformists. This second treaty omitted the clauses dealing with Roman Catholicism, and made the promises of money and troops merely a part of the engagement for carrying on the joint war. This, too, was kept secret for the time being; it was intended only as a blind, ultimately for the public at large, and immediately for the Protestant members of the Cabal, all of whom signed it.

Secret Treaty of Dover, May.

In spite of pressure from his brother, Charles had no intention of announcing his religious conversion before he thought it safe to do so; and it was not safe to drive into opposition either the Protestant ministers in England or Lauderdale's army in Scot-

land. Louis could see that a violent domestic upheaval in his ally's dominions would be an undesirable preliminary to the Dutch war; the war therefore was to have precedence, and the spring of 1672 was the date fixed on. Meanwhile both England and France devoted themselves to neutralising possible allies of Holland on the Continent, and to manufacturing grounds of quarrel with the Dutch; while De Witt, the Grand Pensionary, the official head of the Dutch Republic, struggled vainly to avert a war which the Orange party in the State were likely to use to their own advantage. The Orange party were the adherents of the old family which had wrought so much for the liberation of Holland, and which was now represented by young William, the nephew of the king of England.

The conspiracy against Holland.

Meanwhile it was necessary to dispense with parliament, lest its assembly should lead to inconvenient discoveries. When the war had begun, the unpopularity of the French alliance might be counterbalanced by popular animosity to the Dutch, whose success in 1667 still rankled in the English mind. But in spite of the supplies granted two years before, the Treasury was short of money for war purposes. Hence, in spite of Ashley's opposition, the government adopted an expedient as dishonest as it was disastrous, which is known as the 'Stop of the Exchequer.' Large sums had been borrowed from the goldsmiths, to be repaid when the year's taxes were collected. It was suddenly announced that the repayment was to be postponed. The advances were to be treated merely as a public debt, on which interest at six per cent. was guaranteed; and even the payment of the interest was suspended for a year. By this iniquitous proceeding a million and a half due to the goldsmiths was annexed by the Treasury. The goldsmiths were practically the bankers of the community, with whom their clients deposited large sums of money. The money advanced to the government was largely derived from these deposits, since it had been assumed that its due repayment by the government was secured. Consequently the goldsmiths and their clients found themselves ruined. The government credit was ruined also, but the government held the cash.

1672. The 'Stop of the Exchequer.'

At the same time the tolerationists were gratified by a Declaration of Indulgence, without calling parliament. Charles by proclamation suspended the whole of the penal laws against Nonconformists and recusants of every kind. Such a measure would have had no chance of being accepted by the Commons, but it was probably expected that it would be approved by popular opinion outside. The declaration of war with Holland—'a bolt from the blue,' according to Sir William Temple—followed two days after the Declaration of Indulgence, on 17th March.

A Declaration of Indulgence, March.

Had the new Dutch war covered the English arms with glory, the policy might have carried the nation along with it. There were others besides Ashley—who was now made earl of Shaftesbury—who believed that the destruction of Holland was the necessary condition of the commercial and maritime supremacy of England; also there was a blot on the national honour to be wiped out. But the war redounded to the credit of none but the Dutch. The first naval engagement in Southwold Bay or Sole Bay was a practical victory for the Hollanders; the French ships which accompanied the English fleet took so little part in the battle that in England the belief prevailed that they had been instructed to leave the fighting to their allies in order that the two maritime powers might break each other to pieces. By land the Frenchmen swept over the Dutch territories. The failure of the Dutch government to make adequate preparations for defence produced a revolution, in which the De Witts were murdered, the Orange party triumphed, and William recovered the ancestral position of Stadtholder. The allies had previously sought to tempt him by offering to raise him to the head of the State; he had rejected their overtures; now his patriotism and capacity were proved by the determination with which he faced the apparently overwhelming odds against him. The triumphant armies of France were swept back by the opening of the dykes. Charles himself was much less inclined to crush Holland when the head of the State was his own nephew, than he had been when the States-General was controlled by the anti-Orange republicans. Still

The second Dutch war, March.

he could not withdraw from the war, and it was no longer possible to defer the assembling of parliament.

When parliament met in February 1673 it finally brought home to him the lesson which he had been unwilling to learn. It taught him that the hostility to popery among Anglicans was no less fierce than among the most bigoted Puritans. It taught him that a Cavalier parliament which suspected the Crown of endeavouring to thwart its own views could be as jealous on behalf of constitutional principles as the Long Parliament itself. It taught him once for all that the limits beyond which he could not venture were narrower than he had believed. Charles never shut his eyes to inexorable facts. He no longer deluded himself with the belief that he could effect a Catholic restoration, though that vain dream abode with his brother as an obsession.

1673. Meeting of parliament.

The parliament was angry. It had granted supplies in its last session in 1670 under the impression that they were needed for resistance to French aggression; they had been used to help France in attacking Holland. They had been granted because the Triple Alliance was popular; and the Triple Alliance had been thrown overboard. They had been granted because the king assented to the Conventicle Act; the king had suspended all the penal laws on his own responsibility. Despite the absence of any direct evidence, there were suspicions, acute and widespread, of a plot for the restoration of popery. Every one knew that the duke of York was really a papist. For a moment Charles imagined that if he stood firm he might win. He announced his intention of holding by the Declaration of Indulgence. Shaftesbury defended it, defended the war, defended even the 'Stop of the Exchequer,' which he had always opposed as a blunder. But the parliament was not to be denied. It resolved to grant ample supplies, but to insist first upon grievances. It fastened upon the Declaration of Indulgence as an unprecedented extension of the prerogative of granting a special dispensation from the operation of penal laws in individual cases. The Cabal urged the king to stand firm. The Protestants in the group still

The Declaration withdrawn, March.

believed that in doing so they were supporting the cause of toleration. But Louis urged submission. What he wanted first and foremost was the continued support of England in the war. If Charles entered upon a battle with his parliament, that would become impossible. Charles knew perfectly well that he could never win his game if he alienated Louis. Also he realised the intensity of the Opposition. He revoked the Declaration of Indulgence.

The Opposition had won a signal triumph. But if it was a victory for intolerance, the root of it this time lay not in the hatred of Puritanism but in the dread of popery, as well as in a well-founded fear of a grave constitutional danger. If the king could of his own will set aside a whole series of Acts of parliament, all legislation would soon lie at the mercy of the Crown. Such an extension of the royal prerogative might once have found favour with the Cavaliers if it had been directed to the establishment of the Anglican supremacy; when it was directed to the weakening of the Anglican supremacy, not Pym nor Eliot could have been more alive than the Cavaliers to the danger it involved.

Triumph of the Opposition.

The victory was pressed home, and two bills were introduced—one for the relief of Protestant dissenters, who had shown openly that they preferred to suffer rather than to obtain relief by the Declaration. That bill was carried through the Commons; but episcopal amendments prevented it from becoming law before the parliament was prorogued, and it was not again introduced. The second bill, which became known as the Test Act, imposed no further disabilities upon Protestant dissenters; but it specifically required all officers of the State and of the royal household, civil and military, to take the Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of Supremacy, to receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite, and to subscribe a declaration repudiating the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The manifest object was to exclude entirely from office every one who did not publicly disavow Roman doctrine. The Act passed through both Houses, and both the duke of York and Clifford obeyed their consciences and resigned.

The Relief Bill.

The Test Act.

Shaftesbury's eyes were opened. Possibly Arlington, who at this crisis was moved primarily by his jealousy of Clifford, con-
Shaftesbury. veyed to the chancellor information about the secret Treaty of Dover. Shaftesbury at any rate realised that he had been duped, that the king cared nothing for toleration save as a means to the advancement of Romanism and Romanists. The time was at hand when he would appear in a new rôle, not as the king's minister but as the unscrupulous organiser of opposition. The king, however, had grasped the situation. He struck Romanism out of his programme altogether. Absolutism remained, not because he wished to play the tyrant, but because he objected to control. Therefore it became his policy to win over the High Cavaliers, the uncompromising Anglicans, although in order to do so it was necessary to recede from the French alliance. He made the Cavalier leader, Sir Thomas Osborne,
Danby. Lord Treasurer, and earl of Danby—the title by which he is best known, though at subsequent stages of his career he was created marquis of Carmarthen and duke of Leeds.

On the duke of York's retirement, Prince Rupert, an uncompromising Protestant, and no friend to France, was given the
Popular suspicions. command of the fleet. In a series of hotly contested engagements the English failed to get the better of the Dutch, and the French squadrons continued to render no efficient service. Popular anger against France grew, and the impression gained ground that the war was being used as a cover for the persistent increase of a standing army, which was intended for use not against the enemies of England, but for the coercion of England itself. More resentment was roused when the duke of York took for his second wife the papist, Mary of Modena. The two daughters of his first wife, Mary and Anne, were Protestants, but if the new wife should bear him a son, and that son should be brought up as a Romanist, how could the succession of a series of papists be prevented? The idea
The idea of exclusion. that James must be excluded from the succession began to fasten itself in the minds of an ever-increasing section of the public. When parliament met in October, Shaftesbury, who was still Chancellor, asked for supplies; not

for the prosecution of an unpopular war but to enable the government to procure a popular peace. Parliament was prorogued in November, and immediately afterwards Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Chancellorship, to take at once the place of Leader of the Opposition.

Though Charles had broken for ever with Shaftesbury, he saw that he must yield to the demand for peace, though he did his best to persuade Louis that he did so only because he had no choice in the matter. The Peace of Westminster was signed in February, its main provisions being the acknowledgment by the Dutch of the English sovereignty of the seas, and their payment of a substantial sum of money. Charles was at least relieved from the necessity of asking parliament for further supplies, which it was very unlikely to grant, whereas it was extremely likely to raise troublesome questions. Once more it was prorogued, a week after the signing of the treaty.

1674. Peace of Westminster, February.

During these years Lauderdale in Scotland had been completing the establishment of the royal supremacy. When the ascendency finally passed into his hands in 1667, a more tolerant policy was expected from him than from his predecessors. The expectation at first seemed likely to be fulfilled. Despite the rejection of a plan propounded by Leighton, which would have reduced the bishops to little more than permanent 'moderators,' as they had first been when James regrafted episcopacy upon presbyterianism, ejected ministers who had lived peaceably were allowed by what was called the First Indulgence, issued by the king himself, to return to their livings if vacant. A few took advantage of the Indulgence. Alexander Burnet (not Gilbert), archbishop of Glasgow, entered a protest which greatly annoyed the king, against the action of the Crown. Lauderdale resolved to establish the royal supremacy once for all over the Church, and over the State by means of a Militia Bill, which would place an irresistible standing army permanently at the disposal of the Crown. A Scots parliament was called in the autumn of 1669. Lauderdale as High Commissioner practically nominated all the Lords

1667-9. Lauderdale in Scotland.

of the Articles, and his two bills were carried: one declaring that the whole ordering of Church government was a prerogative of the Crown, the other establishing the militia; and Burnet was removed from his archbishopric. After that the parliament was adjourned.

The Indulgence did not please the advanced Covenanters; the ministers who returned to their livings were looked upon as backsliders, and those who did not return continued to hold the Conventicles which had been revived since the removal of Rothes. Lauderdale, whose moderation had proceeded not from principle but from self-interest, now departed from that policy since it no longer offered to him personally the same advantages. In 1670 he passed through the parliament the 'Clanking Act against Conventicles,' which imposed fines upon preachers and all persons who attended them in any case, but doubled the fines and imposed the death penalty on preachers when they were held in the open air. Presumably it was not intended actually to proceed to this last extremity.

1670. The Clanking Act.

The immediate effect was small. The Covenanters had a theory, and a grim determination not to surrender it whatever the cost. Parliament met again in 1672; further penalties were imposed for accepting the ministrations of the ejected clergy. A second Indulgence brought a few more of them back. But Lauderdale was growing more dictatorial, and when he married his former mistress, Lady Dysart, she not only scandalised public sentiment by her own intervention in public affairs, but urged her husband forward in his new courses. Consequently many of his former allies deserted him, and formed an opposition which threatened his supremacy over the parliament. Since it had ceased to be the pliant instrument of his will, it was dissolved. This was at the moment when Charles in England broke decisively with Shaftesbury, and Danby was being established in the saddle. Lauderdale recognised that any measure of compromise with the Covenanters would bring him into antagonism with Danby, and would point to his association with Shaftesbury; consequently from 1674 onwards he developed the policy of persecution.

1672. The Black Indulgence.

The Cabal was finally dissolved; for Clifford had died by his own hand not long after his resignation; Buckingham followed Shaftesbury into opposition, and Arlington had virtually been retired.

IV. Shaftesbury in Opposition, 1674-1681

The king's policy was changed in one important particular, because in that particular respect he recognised that it was impracticable—that the hostility of the nation at large, Anglicans as well as Puritans, to Roman Catholicism was too deep-rooted and too violent to allow of an attitude which was more than barely tolerant of that form of religion. But he was as determined as ever to release himself from bondage to parliament. To that end it was as necessary as ever to retain the support of the French king, without whose assistance it would never be possible to procure the necessary soldiers and the necessary funds to free himself from parliamentary control. But even this would not suffice to make the Crown sit easily on his head unless he had the suffrages of a substantial portion of his subjects. He was shrewd enough to know that this could only be done by humouring the Cavaliers. But the Cavaliers themselves, with Danby at their head, were hostile to Louis and to everything which they identified as the policy of the government for the last seven years. Consequently he had to play a double game, openly sanctioning measures hostile to the interests of Louis, while privately persuading Louis that those measures were none of his doing. Thus at least Louis might be convinced that it was worth his while to go to almost any lengths to secure the entire independence, and with it the effective support, of his ingenious cousin. Charles did not like Danby's policy, while he cared nothing whatever for the interests of Louis. But he had to hoodwink them both so that Danby's policy might be distorted into a means to extracting his own price from Louis for a commodity of extremely doubtful value, the friendship of the king of England. It was indeed of importance to Charles

1674. The king's policy.

The problem.

now to avoid foreign wars altogether; for Louis it was worth while to purchase English neutrality if he could not obtain English support; English hostility to France might be kept from materialising upon the battlefield. To that end the best means was to avoid the summoning of parliament; and if the summoning of parliament was to be avoided, the French king was perfectly well aware that he must supply the king of England with hard cash.

Still the time had not arrived for dispensing with parliament. The Houses, prorogued in February 1674, met again in April of the next year. Danby had been busy in purchasing votes by that system of corruption of which Walpole is often, though erroneously, supposed to have been the inventor. Foreign powers also, who had seen the king driven by parliament to reverse the foreign policy of England, were busily offering inducements to members to make politics profitable to themselves. Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and young Viscount Halifax led the Opposition, and there were vigorous attacks upon Lauderdale as well as upon Danby. The Treasurer, on the other hand, very nearly succeeded in passing a bill amplifying the Test Act so as to preclude from office every one who was not prepared to pledge himself to make no attempt to alter the system of government of Church and State. But the discussion of the bill was fortunately suspended by a violent altercation between the Houses on a question of jurisdiction, whereby public business became entangled in a knot which could only be cut by a prorogation. But parties were now beginning to define themselves with non-resistance as the fundamental doctrine of the one, and its negation as the fundamental doctrine of the other. After an interval of four months the Houses again met. They reverted to the old quarrel, and the Opposition moved for a dissolution by which they hoped to attain a majority in the Commons. The motion barely escaped defeat; and parliament was once more prorogued.

1675. **Parliament.**

Charles who, with a quite different object in view, had promised Louis to dissolve if the Houses proved hostile to France, on condition of himself receiving a pension of £100,000

a year, claimed and received from the French king the money which he had not altogether earned. The Opposition had succeeded at least in thwarting the government measures. Danby had succeeded in doing so little for the king, and would be so helpless if he lost the royal favour, that Charles was able to force him against his will to commit himself to a secret treaty with France which was not revealed even to his colleagues. No one else knew of it except James and Lauderdale. By it Charles and Louis each engaged to enter upon no treaty of alliance with a foreign power except with the consent of the other.

The king's bargains.

During the fifteen months which passed between the second prorogation in 1675 and the reassembling of parliament in February 1677, the duke of York took the final step of ceasing altogether to attend the Anglican services, not at all to the satisfaction of his brother. Also the French arms on the Continent prospered. And a still graver cause of anxiety from the English point of view was the development of the French navy as the outcome of the policy of Louis's great minister, Colbert. For some time past England and Holland had been recognised as 'the maritime powers'; but when the great Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, was defeated and killed in an encounter with a French fleet in the Mediterranean, it became apparent that France was threatening to challenge this ascendency.

1676. French progress.

When parliament assembled the Opposition leaders were determined to force a dissolution, since Danby's government was still secure of majorities in both Houses. Shaftesbury made the blunder of bringing forward a technical plea that since the last period of prorogation had extended for over twelve months, parliament *ipso facto* had ceased to exist, and the Houses now assembled were without authority. Plantagenet Acts requiring annual parliaments were obsolete; the Triennial Act of 1641, modified by the Act of 1664, required only that there should be not less than one session in three years. The plea could not in fact be successfully upheld in law. When the leaders introduced their motion

1677. Defeat of the Opposition, February.

in the House of Lords, the peers promptly denounced it as an insult, demanded an apology, and when the apology was refused sent Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Wharton, and Salisbury to the Tower, where Shaftesbury remained for more than a year. The Commons were even more indignant than the Lords, since half of them were afraid of losing their seats if a general election took place.

Danby had won a complete victory, not by his own act but by the blunder of the Opposition. He began to press his own policy, the policy almost universally desired in the country, of hostility to France. But here Charles could not afford to give way to his minister. The Opposition were adroit enough to advocate the anti-French policy with a zeal which was forbidden to Danby. They demanded that England should join the European coalition against which Louis was fighting; the Commons were ready to grant supplies when that condition should have been fulfilled. Charles replied that this was a virtual denial of the king's undoubted right to decide questions of war and peace. Parliament was adjourned in May, and the king made a fresh bargain with France that, in consideration of the sum of two million *livres*, the adjournment should continue in force till the following April, 1678.

Charles defeats the parliament, May.

Danby was being compelled to be the instrument of a foreign policy of which he disapproved, because between him and the Opposition coalition was impossible on other grounds. Nevertheless he was now able to carry the king with him in a step very much opposed to the interests of Louis. Charles, in fact, wanted to bring about a general peace, since the war was to him a perpetual embarrassment. Danby had long been anxious to marry the duke of York's elder daughter Mary to her cousin, the Prince of Orange. William had before fought shy of the match; now he saw in it the chance of detaching his English uncles from the French alliance, and the ill-success which had attended his own campaigns led him to regard this as a pressing necessity. Charles calculated that it would enable him to bring pressure to bear upon Louis to make

The Dutch marriage, November.

peace on reasonable terms, and would also remind his cousin that the king of England was not yet at his beck and call. The marriage was negotiated and was completed in November.

Charles induced both William and Danby to accede to terms which he himself thought reasonable, and such as Louis would accept. Louis was to give up Lorraine to its duke, but to keep Franche-Comté and his conquests in the Netherlands with the exception of eight towns, one of which was to be given back to Holland and the other seven to Spain. Unfortunately Louis's pride was insulted, and he refused the terms. With his hand thus forced Charles was obliged to conclude an alliance with the Dutch which was to compel Louis to accede to the terms proposed; and he emphasised his attitude by summoning parliament to meet again in January, three months before the date for which he had bargained with France. In the circumstances he could count upon substantial supplies.

A breach with Louis.

But the French king's diplomacy was equal to the occasion. He intrigued with the anti-Orange party in Holland, where William's ascendency had been weakened by his ill-success in the field. He intrigued with the Opposition leaders in England who, while they were ready enough for war with France under their own direction, were alarmed at the prospect of an army being raised which would not be at their own disposal, but at the king's. Louis's object, in fact, was to prevent the war from being used as a means of reconciliation between king and parliament. His intriguing was successful. The Opposition leaders, some of whom did not scruple to accept French gold, were unable to show their hand even to their own followers. The air was full of distrust and suspicion. The Commons began by demanding that the supplies for armies and fleets and alliances with foreign powers, should be directed to forcing upon France terms which France would not dream of accepting, or the continental powers of asking. When they realised that they had gone too far, they promised substantial supplies, but added the appropriation clauses intolerable to Charles. Meanwhile Louis had offered to Holland concessions sufficient to gain over the

1678. Louis's counter-move.

A tangle of intrigues.

anti-Orange party to the side of peace. Charles caused Danby to write to Montague, the English envoy in Paris, authorising him to offer the help of England in forcing Spain and Holland to accept Louis's terms, in consideration of a payment of six million *livres* for three years. To satisfy Danby the king wrote on the document 'This letter is writ by my order.—C. R.' Louis refused, and for his own ends gave to the Opposition leaders secret information of the transaction. Two months later another secret treaty was actually signed which included a stipulation for the payment of six million *livres*, in consideration of which parliament was to be prorogued for four months, and nearly all of the lately raised forces were to be disbanded. The final result was the treaty between Holland and France known as the Peace of Nimeguen, signed a fortnight after the prorogation, on 31st July, of the English parliament, which had promptly acceded to the disbanding of the troops when assured by the king that a general peace was now no longer a matter of doubt. Nothing, of course, was known of the secret negotiations.

Peace of Nimeguen, August.

When parliament met again on 21st October the troops had not been disbanded, but the whole country was in a frenzied panic aroused by the supposed revelations of Titus Oates. The son of one of Cromwell's army chaplains, this unmitigated knave had taken Anglican Orders; but in 1667 he joined the Church of Rome and betook himself to the English Jesuit colleges at Valladolid and St. Omer successively. At midsummer 1668 he was duly expelled from the latter; but he had used his time to advantage. He had learnt of the existence of schemes for the conversion of England; of correspondence between the duke of York's Jesuit secretary, Father Coleman, and Louis's Jesuit confessor, Père la Chaise; of a meeting of Jesuits held two months before in London. Also he had doubtless heard a good deal of wild talk. And he had discovered that the Jesuits, who once expected King Charles to bring about the conversion of England by French aid, now fixed their hopes upon the heir-presumptive, the avowed Catholic, and regarded Charles as a barrier in their way.

Titus Oates, September.

Having so much to work upon, Oates returned to England and concocted out of his own fertile imagination, and that of a fanatic named Israel Tonge, the monstrous fiction called the Popish Plot. Some people had attributed the Great Fire of London to the papists, so there was to be another Great Fire. The Irish insurrection of 1641 was supposed to have been brewed in Rome, so there was to be another similar rising in Ireland. French and Irish soldiers were to be turned upon Protestant England to massacre every heretic who refused to recant. The loyalty of Oates was demonstrated by his inclusion of the murder of the king as a part of the Popish Plot. At one time or another the English people had been quite ready to believe in the truth of something corresponding to each one of these charges; the details involved specific accusations against Jesuits, most of the prominent Catholics, and a good many Anglicans who were suspected of being secret papists. Oates began by conveying to the king warnings of a Jesuit plot against his life. The king did not take alarm, and told no one but Danby, who discredited the whole affair. Then Oates sought to implicate James's confessor, Father Bedingfield; whereupon the duke and Danby, for opposite reasons, called for further inquiries. After some weeks of preparation, Oates and Tonge laid a detailed statement before the Privy Council, having placed a draft of their depositions with a highly respected London magistrate, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Charles himself convicted Oates of more than one obvious lie, but the informer's story hung together sufficiently well to induce the council to order the arrest of some of the accused persons, and the seizure of their papers. Some of Oates's facts were immediately corroborated; the correspondence of Father Coleman implied the existence of scheming of some kind for the restoration of Romanism. Rumours began to be spread abroad; and then a fortnight after the council meeting Godfrey disappeared. Five days later his body, with unmistakable marks of murder, not suicide, was found in a ditch. He had not been robbed. Who killed him? Nobody to this day can pronounce with any certainty;

The Popish Plot.

Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, October.

but the public in October 1678 jumped immediately to the conclusion that the Jesuits were the murderers—that they had done the deed in order that the evidence in Godfrey's possession might not come to light.

From that moment the voice of reason was no more heard. Never have the people's leaders so completely lost their heads in sheer frenzied panic. For a time half the Protestant population lived in the expectation of being individually assassinated, or collectively massacred by the emissaries of the Pope. Oates, with Bedloe, Dangerfield, and others who took up the informer's business, became the heroes of Protestantism and the terror of innocent adherents of the Roman religion. Parliament met within a week of Godfrey's murder, and the members lost their heads as completely as the public at large. Five Catholic peers were sent to the Tower. The Commons brought in and carried a bill for excluding all Catholics from parliament; the Lords merely succeeded in obtaining exemption for the duke of York. For a hundred and fifty years no peer who was a Romanist could take his seat in the Upper House.

The panic.

The Opposition, with Shaftesbury again at its head, used the whole business to attack the succession of James; Danby himself was not unwilling to see the duke's prospective prerogative curtailed. Charles declared his willingness to accept a bill which should disable a popish successor from interfering with the national Protestantism, though he declined to listen to the idea of his brother's exclusion from the throne. The partial rebuff drove Shaftesbury to countenance an attack upon the childless queen herself, whose removal would clear the way for the king to take a new wife and beget a legitimate son. Charles in his marital relations was everything that a husband ought not to be; but the monstrous charge against his innocent wife, that she had attempted to poison him, was more than he could tolerate. The attempt only recoiled upon the heads of the Opposition.

Demand for exclusion.

Danby had actually lost nothing, but Louis was Danby's enemy, and now saw his opportunity. This was the moment for betraying to Shaftesbury the negotiations of the summer.

Danby's letter to Montague was produced, and Danby was impeached. The Commons entirely declined to recognise the king's orders, however express, as serving in the slightest degree to release the minister from his personal responsibility. But the Lords refused to place Danby under arrest pending the impeachment; and the king, partly to save the minister and partly to prevent awkward revelations, in effect quashed the proceedings by proroguing parliament at the end of December. The prorogation prevented Charles from obtaining supplies. He made overtures to Louis, but Louis was becoming tired of cash payments which produced so little return. There was no escape from parliament, and Charles in the circumstances determined to try what a general election would do. After sitting for eighteen years, the Cavalier parliament was dissolved, and a new House of Commons assembled in March 1679.

Fall of Danby.

The 'No Popery' panic was still in full blast when the elections took place. The Opposition had a sweeping majority in the House of Commons, and the Catholic peers were already excluded from the House of Lords. Conciliation was the only policy open to the king, who still retained an anomalous popularity with his subjects which he had not had the courage to forfeit by any hasty insistence on the justice to his Catholic subjects, which, as no one knew better than he, was being cruelly denied to them.

1679. The second parliament, March.

Before the Houses met, Charles, adopting Danby's advice, sent his brother out of the country and called into his council Sir William Temple and the earl of Sunderland. He intended to divide the Opposition by bringing to his side those leaders who were not seeking to alter the succession, but only to limit the powers of a Romanist king. Nevertheless, so fierce was the attack upon Danby that as the best means of saving him Charles dismissed him from office and allowed him to be sent to the Tower—to the satisfaction of James, who had now come to look upon the Treasurer as a personal enemy.

At this stage Temple devised his ingenious, academic, and wholly impracticable scheme for a new Privy Council. The

existing unwieldy body must be dismissed. A new Privy Council was to be formed of thirty members, fifteen being officers of State and fifteen non-official. The body was to be a sort of buffer between the king and parliament, of which the non-official members were intended to be representative of the Opposition no less than of the Court party. Shaftesbury, Halifax, Essex, and Russell were members as well as Ormond, Lauderdale, and Arlington, Sunderland, and Temple himself. Such a council was only constructed to be ignored. Its deviser, Temple, an admirable man and an honest diplomatist with an extensive knowledge of European politics, had lived mainly abroad, and was without experience of the working of the constitution in England. The king and half the councillors knew that the whole scheme was illusory, while to the Commons it meant nothing at all.

Temple's new Privy Council.

On the great question of the hour the Council elaborated a scheme for imposing strict limitations on the powers of a Catholic king. To the Commons it appeared certain that the moment the Catholic king was there the limitations would be cancelled. A bill was brought in to exclude the duke of York personally from the succession to the throne, or any other papist. In May the bill passed its second reading by a large majority. A 'triumvirate'—Sunderland, Halifax, and Essex—who were limitationists, not exclusionists, were the king's chief advisers; in accordance with their recommendation Charles prorogued the parliament. By a happy accident it had just passed a measure of the utmost importance, the Habeas Corpus Act. There is every reason to believe in the story that the majority of one by which it passed the Lords was really a minority of eight, but by way of a jest the tellers reckoned one corpulent peer as ten. This charter of English liberties introduced nothing new; in theory every arrested person already had the right of being brought up for trial, or else released. But lawyers had devised all manner of ingenious methods of delay, whereby it was possible to detain an accused person in prison for an indefinite time before his writ of habeas corpus could be taken out. The Act

The Exclusion Bill, May.

The Habeas Corpus Act.

enabled any prisoner charged with offences other than treason or felony to procure his trial or his release on bail within twenty days. If the charge were one of treason or felony, he must be tried or released on bail in the next term or the next sessions of gaol-delivery following his original commitment, and discharged if not tried during the second term.

The prorogation served only to intensify the wrath of Shaftesbury and the exclusionists, who never forgave Halifax for his share in it. The triumvirate, afraid to face the parliament again, advised a dissolution, and in defiance of a substantial majority of the council, the king issued, on 12th July, a proclamation dissolving parliament, and summoning another, his third (not counting the Convention), to meet in October. **Parliament dissolved.**

There was no doubt by this time that Shaftesbury and the exclusionists had resolved to insist upon the succession of Monmouth, as the king's own legitimate son; relying upon the young man's popularity, which was enhanced by the credit he had obtained as a soldier in the suppression at midsummer of a rising of the Scottish Covenanters, and also by the lenient treatment he sought to obtain for them. On the other hand, a large body of opinion resented extremely the idea of placing on the throne a man of whose illegitimacy there was no reasonable doubt, and thereby alienating the legitimate heirs next in succession after James, his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, who, as grandson to Charles I. himself, stood next after his wife and her sister Anne. The triumvirate opened private negotiations with William, wishing to bring him over to England to assume the leadership of the Protestant party. Meanwhile Charles on his own account renewed negotiations with Louis for a pension which would enable him to dispense with parliament. **Monmouth.**

On the top of this intriguing Charles was seized with a sudden illness which brought vividly home to the general public the necessity for an immediate settlement of the question of the succession; since as matters stood it seemed as if the king's death might plunge the country into a dynastic civil war. Fortunately Charles recovered his health, **Illness of Charles, August.**

and with it an increased popularity which enabled him at one stroke to recall his brother from banishment and send him to take the control of Scotland and the military forces there, and to dismiss Monmouth into the exile from which James was recalled. A reaction against the Popish Plot business had begun; in the late summer some papists, against whom informations had been laid, had actually been acquitted. But the elections had done nothing for the Court party. Charles determined to trust to time to aid his cause, and immediately prorogued parliament for three months. On the one hand Shaftesbury was dismissed from the council, and on the other both Halifax and Essex practically retired. In January Charles renewed the prorogation, whereupon the rest of what may be called the Halifax party retired. The policy of conciliation was at an end. The enraged Opposition made a fresh attack upon James, while Monmouth returned from banishment, and in defiance of the king's orders made a progress through the country. The air was filled with rumours of the existence somewhere of evidence that his mother, Lucy Walters, had actually been the lawful wife of Charles at the time of Monmouth's birth. But Shaftesbury's real reliance was upon parliament. Petitions poured in demanding that the Houses should meet. Counter-petitions expressed abhorrence of all attempts to encroach upon the Crown's right to choose its own time for summoning, proroguing, and dissolving parliaments. Hence for a short time the two parties came to be known as Petitioners and Abhorrers, names very shortly to give place to Whig and Tory—the former a title which had long been applied to the Galloway Covenanters, while the latter was the nickname for the outlaws who infested parts of Ireland.

The third parliament prorogued, October.

1680.

Petitioners and Abhorrers.

Whigs and Tories.

Charles had failed with Louis. He adopted the policy advocated by Sunderland, an entirely unprincipled politician who had not followed his colleagues of the triumvirate into retirement. He procured with Spain an alliance for the maintenance of the Treaty of Nimeguen, which was to serve the double

purpose of conciliating anti-Gallic sentiment in England, and of frightening Louis into a more agreeable attitude. Having concluded his alliance, he allowed parliament to meet in October. The Opposition was not conciliated, while James was quite determined neither to withdraw his claim nor to follow his brother's advice and desert the Church which he had joined. Sunderland, believing that the exclusionists would win, had secretly gone over to their side. Essex had already done so openly. But Halifax, who was opposed to the succession of Monmouth at any price, emerged from his retirement to stand by the king. The Opposition scoffed at the Spanish alliance; it was a form of trickery by which Shaftesbury was not to be duped. A new Exclusion Bill was brought in, declaring James incapable of the succession and guilty of treason if he should claim authority. At the instigation of Shaftesbury, an amendment naming the princesses Mary and Anne as the natural heirs was rejected. The bill was carried in the Commons by overwhelming majorities; in the Lords, Halifax led a brilliant resistance, and it was thrown out. The furious Commons turned upon Halifax and demanded his permanent dismissal; Charles replied that he would dismiss the earl if his criminality were proved, but not otherwise. The vindictiveness of the Commons found a sort of safety valve in the impeachment of the innocent Catholic Lord Stafford, who had been thrown into prison with four other peers at the beginning of the Popish Plot scare. The hapless Stafford was condemned by a majority of the peers. His death was the last of the Popish Plot murders.

Parliament meets, October.

A new Exclusion Bill.

The exclusionists had been foiled, but their defeat did not make them ready to grant the money which was becoming a serious necessity. Spain, Holland, and the emperor were pressing for active intervention. The maintenance of the fleet and the preservation of Tangier demanded expenditure. Could the Commons be persuaded to accept a compromise? In December Charles made an offer. He would not interfere with the legitimate course of the succession, but he would consider any guarantees

An offer from Charles rejected.

that might be suggested as requisite for the security of Protestantism. The Commons replied that they would grant supplies if the duke were excluded from the succession, and Catholics from appointments to the army, the navy, or the bench, and if judges were made irremovable during good behaviour. From every side pressure was brought to bear upon Charles to give way. Refusal might mean civil war. The powers were urgent that he should make his peace with parliament since that was the only condition upon which he could give them aid. William of Orange himself set more store upon the alliance of England against Louis than upon his own and his wife's chances of the succession in England, which would be endangered by exclusion. Apparently Charles could count upon no support but that of Halifax and Laurence Hyde, younger son of Clarendon, who had very recently come into prominence.

Nevertheless Charles astonished the world when he gave his reply in January by standing to his Declaration. If supplies were not granted Tangier could not be preserved, the fleet could not be maintained, the obligations to the continental powers could not be carried out; but he would not purchase supplies by surrendering his brother's right to the succession. The indignant Commons declared that exclusion was the condition without which they would grant no supplies, and proceeded to denounce as a traitor any one who should urge the king to a prorogation. Charles responded by first proroguing and then dissolving the parliament, and summoning another to meet, not at Westminster, but at Oxford, where Shaftesbury could not requisition in his services the turbulent support of the city of London.

1681. Parliament dissolved, January.

On 21st March the new parliament met, confident of a triumphant victory. The undergraduates were away; the town swarmed with the retainers of the Whig lords who filled the colleges. The Commons sat in the Convocation House, the Lords in the Geometry School, very inconvenient chambers. The king in opening parliament repeated his readiness to consider any guarantee for Protestantism other than exclusion. Then his last offer was laid before the

The fourth parliament, March.

Commons and debated on Saturday, 26th March. The king would accept a bill making James king in name, but exiling him, and appointing Mary and William regents. Shaftesbury appealed to him to acknowledge Monmouth. The king replied that he would not yield, and was not to be intimidated. The Commons rejected the proposed regency and resolved once more to bring in an exclusion bill. The king was at their mercy. He had no money to pay his troops, hardly enough to provide his household expenses. Charles cheerfully superintended the arrangements which were being made to remove the Commons to a more convenient chamber in the Sheldonian, as though anticipating a continued session. On Monday he came down to the Lords wearing his ordinary attire, in a sedan chair; no one paid attention to the second sedan chair which followed. A summons was sent to the Commons to attend at the bar of the Upper House in the Geometry School. They hurried in jubilant, expecting to hear the king make his submission. They found him seated in the robes of State which he must wear for a formal dissolution of parliament; it was to hear that formal dissolution that the Commons had been summoned. Charles had gauged them. He was confident that they were not prepared for a civil war; and his confidence was warranted. The surprise was so complete that the Whigs were paralysed. All power of organisation deserted them. They scattered as fast as they could buy horses to carry them home.

The curtain falls.

In the interval since the dissolution of the last parliament, Charles had struck the bargain with Louis which made him comfortably secure; but this time there were no documents to be betrayed. He had given the French king his verbal promise to break the alliance with Spain, and to call no more parliaments for three years, in return for the cash which made him serenely independent of supplies. No other parliament was assembled while Charles II. was king. No rebellion was attempted, for the king had money to pay the troops which had never been disbanded, and rebellion would have been mere madness. The pensioner of France had won with a skill and audacity which must command our admiration,

The king's trump card.

but at the cost of infamy unparalleled in the annals of the kings of England.

When in England Charles took Danby for his chief minister, broke up the Cabal, ceased from pursuing a Catholic restoration, and reposed upon the support of the High Cavaliers and Anglicans, Lauderdale in Scotland gave himself completely to the policy of developing the military forces at his disposal, impressing the royal supremacy upon the Church, and persecuting the recalcitrant Covenanters who persisted in following the 'outed' ministers, and in denouncing the indulged ministers and episcopacy at large in very unmeasured language. It is undeniable that the conduct of the Covenanters warranted severe measures of police. They 'rabbled' indulged ministers, whom they subjected to outrageous violence. They spoke of the government in the style employed by Hebrew prophets in denouncing the followers of Baal. They made no pretence of advocating religious toleration, and very possibly if they had had the power would themselves have been extremely zealous persecutors. Nevertheless there were numbers of them who were merely determined that they themselves would worship after their own fashion whatever might befall, and had no desire either to quarrel with the government or to force their own views upon their neighbours. But the policy of Lauderdale and Sharp refused to discriminate, and penalised in brutal fashion multitudes of innocent persons whose consciences forbade them to obey the law, whereby they were driven to the verge of rebellion.

Scotland. Lauderdale's persecution.

In 1677 the Privy Council quartered troops upon the gentry in the Covenant districts, and ordered them to engage that none of their families or dependents or tenants should attend conventicles. Next year, an army of Highlanders numbering eight thousand men, known as the Highland Host, was quartered in the west, where it treated the unhappy population as though they had been conquered rebels. Gilbert Burnet thought, correctly enough, that it was Lauderdale's deliberate intention to drive the people to open rebellion so as to provide an excuse for confiscations. The servants of

The Highland Host.

the government were at no pains to observe the law themselves.

In May 1679 a small band of frenzied fanatics were lying in wait on Magus Muir in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews for an agent of the archbishop's, whom they had sworn to slay. It was not the agent, but Sharp himself, who fell into their hands. They dragged him from his coach and murdered him savagely before the eyes of his daughter. Then they fled to the west country where they could count upon finding some fanatics as fierce as themselves, and numbers who would at any rate sympathise enough to extend protection to them. Within a month of the murder a band of Covenanters openly proclaimed their defiance of the government. Two days later, on 1st June, a great conventicle was held at Loudoun Hill. John Graham of Claverhouse, in command of the government troopers in that district, attempted to disperse the gathering, and was routed at Drumclog. Fired by this success which was an overt act of rebellion, numbers of Covenanters gathered to the insurgents; but they were untrained men with no one to lead them, and no one to teach the rudiments of discipline. Monmouth, who was in Scotland at the time, was dispatched at the head of an army of several thousand men to crush the rebellion, and the insurgents were overwhelmed at Bothwell Brig (22nd June). Monmouth hurried to England, hoping to engage the king's interest for the merciful treatment of the rebels. But the moment was not propitious for Monmouth, whom Shaftesbury's party were making their figurehead. In a few weeks' time he was a banished man, and at the beginning of 1680 not Monmouth, but the duke of York, was in Scotland to represent the king. In the interval harsh measure was meted out to the hundreds of captives who had been brought to Edinburgh. Only a few were executed; but some thousand of them were kept for five months herded under wooden sheds in the Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh, where they suffered unspeakably as the bitter winter drew on. At last most of them were allowed to return home upon their promising to keep the

1679. Murder of Archbishop Sharp, May.

Drumclog.

Bothwell Brig, 22nd June.

peace; two hundred who would make no promise were shipped for Barbadoes, but were drowned at sea.

The rising was as destructive to Lauderdale's domination as the Pentland Rising had been to that of Rothes and Sharp. For the rest of the reign the policy of the government in Scotland was the policy of James. As concerned the treatment of the Covenanters, this made no great difference. The business of repression in the west was in the hands of Dalziel and Claverhouse, whose instructions not only authorised but commanded the utmost extremes of severity. The extremists on the other side did not fail to provide what passed for excuses. Two of the leaders, Cargill and Cameron, issued on the anniversary of Bothwell Brig the Declaration of Sanquhar, renouncing all allegiance to Charles Stuart as a perjurer who had forfeited his authority by breaking his covenanting oath. Cameron was killed in a skirmish; but he acquired an unexpected immortality because, first, the zealots adopted his name, calling themselves Cameronians; and when, long afterwards, they had become loyal adherents of the government, the famous Cameronian regiment (to be carefully distinguished from the Cameron Highlanders) was raised from their numbers. When Cameron was killed, Cargill proceeded to excommunicate everybody in authority from the king himself to 'Bluidie Mackenzie,' the Lord Advocate, who was particularly active in the prosecution of Covenanters. The Declaration of Sanquhar was generally made the touchstone in the following period of merciless persecution. Death was the penalty for refusing to abjure it, and death was also not infrequently the penalty for harbouring Cameronians.

In other respects the government directed by James in Scotland was, at least by comparison, creditable. He succeeded in pacifying the personal rivalries and feuds which had grown up among the magnates. Here it need only be noted further that in the Scottish parliament of 1681, summoned just after the rout of Shaftesbury and the Whigs in England, James as High Commissioner ratified all past laws for the security of the Protestant religion; but the same Act expressly declared on behalf of the Scottish kingdom that there was no power resident in parlia-

ment or anywhere else to divert the course of the succession from the nearest legitimate heir upon any pretext whatever. This was followed up by the imposition of a test upon all office-holders and members of parliament—a test which required them to accept the Confession of Faith of 1567 (which was ultra-Protestant), and at the same time to repudiate the Covenants and accept the royal supremacy and the principle of passive obedience; a series of propositions which could by no means be reconciled with each other. It was most disturbing of all to the episcopalian clergy, many of whom declined to accept it.

Indirectly, however, it strengthened the loyalty of most of the Highland chiefs, because it led to the downfall and expatriation of the earl of Argyll, the successor of Montrose's antagonist. Argyll, who had attached himself to Lauderdale, accepted the test with the saving clause, 'So far as it is consistent with itself and with the Protestant religion.' By a quite amazing perversion of justice, the earl was thereupon condemned for treason. Whether his life was actually in danger or not, he sought security by escaping to Holland, whence he returned to his own destruction when James succeeded to the throne.

V. The King Reigns, 1681-1685

The last four years of the reign of Charles II. provided the world with a masterpiece of successful dissimulation far surpassing anything that even Queen Elizabeth ever accomplished. The king was living upon the proceeds of a bargain with his French cousin, a bargain which it was necessary to keep entirely concealed, but one which he could not afford to break. It committed him to a foreign policy the reverse of that desired by the great majority of his subjects, so that its nature had to be hidden from them. The people at large, the ministers, the foreign powers, all had to be hoodwinked; and at the same time the king's own subjects had to be conciliated and deluded while he was shaping the government of the country upon lines which would make him complete master, an absolute ruler within his own dominions.

1681. An intricate problem.

The easiest part of his task was in his relations with the foreign powers. He could not actively co-operate with them against Louis without obtaining supplies from parliament; no parliament would give him supplies without making an Exclusion Bill the condition; therefore he had a ground for refusing to meet parliament of which the powers did not deny the validity. William of Orange in particular, however anxious he might be for English assistance, could not wholeheartedly advocate a course which would gravely endanger his own and his wife's prospects of succession, and even in the alternative would certainly involve limitations on the royal prerogative which, once conceded, would not be easily withdrawn. Still Louis knew that he had the whip hand of his enemies, and that, while England stood aside, any European coalition would not be strong enough to hold him back. His attitude was so aggressive that Charles found himself obliged to present a strongly worded remonstrance to him, and to promise the allies that he would call a parliament if the French king pressed the claims on the duchy of Luxemburg which he had recently put forward. But Charles merely wanted another bribe from Louis to aid him in finding means to evade his promise. He got his bribe; and Louis offered the allies to submit his claims to the arbitration of Charles. The arbitration could be conveniently postponed, and Louis had no qualms over the arrangement which Charles's unconscious ministers regarded as a triumph for British diplomacy, a successful intervention which had effectively checked French aggression.

Managing the powers.

The rout of the Whigs was accompanied by a strong Tory reaction in the country, though the electoral organisation would have prevented it from manifesting itself at a general election. The triumphant Tories were ready to go to almost any length in supporting the Crown, and in persecuting the dissenters from whom Whiggery derived its strength. Charles was too shrewd to endanger their enthusiasm by a display of favour to the Roman Catholics. The Whigs' collapse was to be treated as the victory of Church and King, and was to be utilised so as to make it an unqualified victory for the Crown. The

The reaction.

exclusionists had made the most of the Popish Plot; it was now safe to treat the scare and the scaremongers as thoroughly discredited; still the king was not disposed to press his advantage too conspicuously. The imprisoned peers remained in prison; James was still kept in Edinburgh instead of being allowed to return and take an active part in politics. Charles held the balance between the Tory Laurence Hyde, who now became earl of Rochester, and Halifax, the champion of the *via media*.

Danger, however, was always to be feared from Shaftesbury, restless, wrathful, and crafty. A direct attack on Shaftesbury would manifest the strength of the government; so in July the Council sent the earl to the Tower. But the proceedings which followed revealed the government's vulnerable point. In November Shaftesbury was brought up before the London Grand Jury. The king could count upon his judges, but not upon juries; to the general astonishment, the jury rejected the bill, endorsing it according to the regular form with the word *ignoramus*. Shaftesbury had to be released on bail. London, being thoroughly Whig, elected Whig sheriffs; Whig sheriffs filled up the Grand Jury panels with Whigs. What was true of London was true only in a slightly less degree of most of the great towns. It would be impossible for the Crown to make successful use of the law courts for political purposes while the appointment of sheriffs remained in the hands of electors chiefly Whig.

The attack on Shaftesbury.

The weak spot being revealed, it remained to remove the weakness. A campaign against the freedom of the municipalities was opened in December by the issue of a writ *Quo warranto* to inquire into the authority by which the city of London exercised its jurisdiction. But almost at the same time James was recalled, and in spite of the Test Act resumed a dominant position in the royal council in conjunction with Rochester, the brother of his first wife, while Halifax found himself thrust into the background. The king was by this time satisfied that the reaction was strong enough and blind enough to enable him to carry out his policy

The London charter attacked, December.

successfully. The Tories, lulled into a false security, had forgotten their fears of Romanism, and with it their temporary access of constitutionalism. They gave their enthusiastic support to the campaign which was to render the Crown absolute by a simple process of administrative reform.

1682-4. The campaign against town charters.

Quo warranto writs were issued to one town after another all over the country. Everywhere, by a natural process of encroachment, corporations had appropriated rights not conveyed to them by charter, and had technically broken the conditions upon which those charters were held. One after another, voluntarily or by compulsion throughout 1682 and 1683, they were surrendering their charters and receiving them back under new conditions, conditions which transferred to the Crown the appointment of the municipal officers. Everywhere the Tories saw with glee the ejection of Whigs and the complete transfer of authority to Tory nominees. The significance of the change was not confined to the sheriffs and their Grand Jury panels; for in the majority of boroughs it was the corporation which controlled the election of members of parliament. When the corporations consisted not of members who had obtained their seats by election, but of Crown nominees, the practical result is obvious. The towns which had been Whig fortresses became Crown strongholds.

1682. The victory in London.

In London itself the victory was obtained even before it could be secured by the *Quo warranto* inquiry. A vote split between Whig candidates had accidentally given the mayoralty to a Tory. An old custom, recently dropped, had allowed the Lord Mayor to nominate one of the sheriffs. The Mayor, by arrangement, nominated a Tory, Sir Dudley North. The Tories insisted on the validity of the appointment, and put up only one other candidate. The Whigs denied the validity, and put up two candidates. The result was that the Tories were able to claim that their man headed the poll, and consequently that the two new sheriffs were Tories. Similarly by a concentration of votes on one candidate they were able to carry the appointment of a Tory as next Lord Mayor.

Tory juries were secured for a year, and before the end of 1683 the charter had been forfeited by legal process.

Meanwhile the Tories had returned to the attack on Protestant dissenters, which had been relaxed since the time of the Test Act. So uneasy were the Whigs that Shaftesbury attempted, though in vain, to stir up Monmouth, Russell, and Essex to insurrection. Failing in his attempt he fled from the country in November 1682, and died at Amsterdam two months afterwards. The Whigs perhaps gained more than they lost, for if the earl had displayed extraordinary capacity in the organising of the Opposition, he had failed as a leader by overestimating the uses of violence; and he had in fact split and ruined his party by forcing the candidature of Monmouth, whose death or withdrawal had become a condition without which it could not be reunited or consolidated.

1683. The end of Shaftesbury, January.

Whig statesmanship was paralysed; it remained for Whig zealotry to plunge the party into a still worse plight. A desperate plot was formed by a group of conspirators—who abstained from revealing their design to the party leaders—to capture the persons of the king and his brother at the Rye House in Herefordshire on their way from Newmarket to London in April 1683. The plot was discovered. Some of the conspirators escaped, others turned king's evidence. On the strength of the information, Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Essex, and Lord Howard of Escrick were arrested and sent to the Tower. There was no evidence that any of them were concerned with the plot; but they had held communication with the plotters, and Essex prejudiced the case against them by cutting his own throat in the Tower. Against Russell it was proved that he had listened to discussions of a treasonable character. He denied treason, but refused to deny the doctrine that armed insurrection might be justifiable. He was condemned and executed. Against Sidney there was no evidence save that of Howard; but by way of second witness a manuscript was produced written by him in favour of the republican theory of government. On this monstrous evidence Judge Jeffreys, who

The Rye House Plot, April.

had recently been raised to the Bench, directed the jury to convict, and Sidney was sent to the block. Monmouth also was among the accused. He had gone into hiding, but before Sidney's death he surrendered on his father's promise of pardon. Nevertheless, when he found that he was to be called as a witness to the charges against his colleagues, he took flight to Holland rather than accept so dishonourable an alternative.

An assassination plot always increases the popularity of the intended victim, at least unless he is hated as a tyrant. Nobody thought of King Charles as a tyrant, and his popularity rose, in spite of the abandonment of Tangier, which it was impossible to preserve against the attacks of the Moors without an expenditure which the king could not afford, unless by obtaining supplies from a parliament which he did not choose to summon. Tangier was dismantled and evacuated at the beginning of 1684, and with it passed away that hold upon the Mediterranean which was only recovered twenty years later by the capture of Gibraltar. Tangier had meant much to Charles, who fully appreciated its value for the development of sea-power, as he appreciated the value of sea-power in the development of Empire. But when he had to choose between English imperialism and the summoning of a possibly censorious parliament on the one side, and his personal freedom from parliamentary control on the other, he chose the second alternative with his eyes open.

1684. Tangier abandoned, March.

Louis had made an exceedingly cheap bargain. The retirement of England from Tangier left the French the strongest naval power in the Mediterranean. In order to be free from parliamentary control, the king of England was willing to surrender his hold upon maritime empire, to make England a negligible quantity in Europe, to allow France to extend her borders as she thought fit, to look on while Louis developed the systematic persecution of Huguenots—which was to culminate in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, six months after the accession of James II. Even the choice of a husband for the princess Anne was made in order to gratify the French king, who, being in alliance with Denmark,

1683. Marriage of Anne.

recommended Prince George of Denmark. There was little hope now that either James or his daughter Mary would provide another heir to the throne, and it was presumed that Anne's marriage would supply the want in a manner convenient to the French king. He was doomed to disappointment; the alliance between France and Denmark came to an end, and England was never more hostile to France than when Anne was seated on the throne. Nevertheless it was with these comfortable anticipations that the marriage was brought about in 1683.

In 1684 that third year elapsed at the end of which the law required that a fresh parliament should be summoned. But the king, who had preferred letting Tangier go to summoning a parliament even when the boroughs were in his hands, had no scruples about ignoring the law. He had the household troops, the troops from Tangier, the troops in Scotland, troops in the pay of the States-General, to say nothing of the control of the militia through the lord-lieutenants. The Opposition were helpless, without leaders and without organisation. No excitement was created even by the omission to call parliament. But in one quarter it would seem that the king was beginning to feel uneasy; it was possible to feel that his crown was being shared with the brother who was destined to succeed him. In 1684 there were signs that Halifax was recovering favour at the expense of Rochester and Sunderland, who had for some time been back in the Privy Council. Towards the end of the year it was whispered that Monmouth would soon be recalled, that a parliament would be summoned first in Scotland and then in England. Monmouth did in fact pay a secret visit to his father. It may be that Charles, having achieved the object of his designs, was already finding that the prize had cost him more than it was worth, and was making up his mind to a change of policy. Danby and the three surviving Catholic lords in the Tower had been released when it was decided not to call another parliament; and an alliance between Danby and Halifax as the king's ministers might have led to important developments.

1684. No new parliament.

But the comedy was already played out. In February 1685

the king had a stroke of what was called apoplexy; four days later he was dead. In his last hours he had evaded taking the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite, but received the last rites at the hands of a Roman Catholic priest who was privately smuggled into his chamber. The world remained unconscious that in his last moments he had avowed the faith which he had so long secretly held.

1685. Death of Charles II., February.

CHAPTER XV. JAMES II. AND VII., 1685-1688

By contrast with his brother, James, whose succession was undisputed, had acquired a character for straightforward bluntness. Men expected in him at least a king whose word 'all men might rely on.' It was taken for granted as a matter of course that he who actually had risked his Crown for a Mass would insist upon a reasonable relief for his co-religionists. It was assumed also that Rochester and his allies would recover the ascendency which had seemed in danger during the last months of the late king's life. There were popular suspicions that the new king had high-flown ideas on the subject of the power of the Crown. But if there was some nervousness it was quieted, if not altogether dispelled, by the proclamation immediately issued, in which he pledged himself to maintain the Church and the liberty of his subjects. If Halifax was relegated to a position of more dignity than importance, Sunderland was recalled to the Council in spite of the support which he had once given the Exclusion Bill. If the king made an ostentatious display of the religion to which he had adhered, still his coronation was conducted according to the Anglican ceremonial. If Oates and the whole crew of informers who had played their parts in the Popish Plot were now punished for their crimes with a merciless brutality, the time had long gone by for any one to sympathise with them in sufferings which were certainly not undeserved. If James ordered the collection of the revenues without waiting for the sanction of parliament, still both in Scotland and in England the parliament was to be called at once. Apparently there was to be no attempt at subverting either the Church or the constitution.

1685. The accession.

Anglicans saw no reason for alarm when the Scottish parlia-

ment was convened, and the merciless treatment which Claverhouse had for some years past been meting out to the Covenanters was made still more merciless by a new law, which made not only preaching, but even attendance at open-air conventicles a capital offence, and inaugurated that period which was for many a long year remembered in the west country as the 'Killing-time.'

Scotland. The 'killing-time.'

When the new English parliament met in May it was overwhelmingly Tory; it could hardly have been otherwise indeed since the elections in the Whig towns were controlled by the Tory nominees of the Crown. The enthusiastic loyalty of the Commons was displayed by the promptitude with which they voted to the king for life the revenues which had been conferred upon his brother, and granted additional supplies for the navy without any fettering appropriation clause. For a resolution asking for the enforcement of the penal laws against all recusants they substituted another expressing entire confidence in the king's renewed promise that he would defend the Church. Before the adjournment in July they had voted a further sum of money for the suppression of Monmouth's revolt in the west country.

A Tory parliament, May.

While Charles lived, English and Scottish exiles, Monmouth, Argyll, and others, had still had some prospect of recovering their position. With James on the throne there was no possible hope for them except in armed rebellion. For Monmouth successful rebellion would mean a throne; it was hardly imaginable that he would use victory for any other purpose, and in that fact lay the supreme difficulty of raising any serious insurrection at all. The exiles, however, though the Scots had no sort of intention of setting the son of Lucy Walters on the throne, apparently came to the conclusion that it was worth while to attempt turning out King James before any agreement had been reached as to his successor.

The exiles.

While Monmouth planned an insurrection in the west of England, Argyll planned a rising in Scotland, where his one real hope lay with his clansmen. In association with Hume of Polwarth, Sir John Cochrane, and some other Lowland gentle-

men, Argyll landed in the north of Scotland early in May without any real scheme of campaign or concert with any organised party. His own kinsmen displayed no zeal in his cause; the Galloway Covenanters had no confidence in the earl's covenanting zeal. He was never in agreement with his colleagues, Polwarth and Cochrane, to whose cowardice and incompetence he and his historian, Wodrow, attributed the ultimate collapse; charges retorted upon him by Polwarth. At any rate divided counsels were fatal to a scheme which demanded the concentration and energy of a Montrose. Before the middle of June such forces as the insurgents had collected had dissolved without ever accomplishing serious fighting. Argyll, trying to escape in disguise, was captured and executed on the strength of the old sentence which had sent him into exile.

Argyll's rebellion, May-June.

Before the final collapse, Monmouth had landed at Lyme Regis on 11th June. He posed at first merely as the champion of Constitutionalism and Protestantism without actually claiming the Crown. For the moment the appeal to Protestant sentiment rallied numbers of the peasantry, but very few of the gentry, to his standard. The local militia, called out to suppress the rebellion, ran away; and Monmouth was hailed with acclamations at Taunton. James took alarm. He hastily recalled the English and Scottish regiments which were in the service of the Dutch republic, and sent troops down to the west under the command of Lord Feversham, a Frenchman who owed his English title to his wife. Monmouth, on the other hand, took the false step of claiming the royal title ten days after his landing. By so doing he destroyed the already infinitesimal chance of rallying any solid body of Whigs to his support. His army was nothing but a rabble of ill-armed and untrained rustics who were ready to die heroically enough for the cause, but could do nothing but die. At the beginning of July the Royalist troops had reached the centre of insurrection. On 5th July Monmouth planned a night attack on their camp at Sedgemoor. The surprise failed, because the line of attack was crossed by a broad dyke not expected by the attacking

Monmouth's rebellion, June.

force. The delay and confusion gave the Royalist troops time to make ready. Monmouth's valiant rustics, armed for the most part with weapons improvised out of farm tools, offered a desperate but hopeless resistance to the government's soldiers, and were cut to pieces.

Monmouth fled. Two days later he was captured and carried to London. The parliament had already sealed his fate by an Act of Attainder; and in spite of an interview with his uncle, very discreditable to both, he was executed on 15th July. The rebellion was punished with a horrible vindictiveness. Colonel Kirke and his 'lambs,' the regiment from Tangier, treated the population with a hideous brutality to which there had been no parallel in the Civil War; but their crimes paled in comparison with the cold-blooded iniquities of the 'Bloody Assize,' conducted by Judge Jeffreys, who put three hundred persons to death, and sentenced eight hundred more to slavery in the plantations; for which he was rewarded with the chancellorship.

Monmouth executed, July.

James was misled as to his own strength by the ease with which the rebellions, both in England and Scotland, had been crushed, and by the fervent loyalty which parliament had displayed. To him it was not apparent that the Monmouth fiasco had removed the great obstacle to the unity of the Opposition. That Opposition would still have been powerless if he had chosen the wise course. A programme which would have conceded merely freedom of worship to Catholics and dissenters would have met with general acquiescence as a reasonable demand from a king who was himself a Roman Catholic; a programme which removed political disabilities and gave commands in the army and navy to Roman Catholics would be resented alike by Anglicans and Protestant dissenters. Moderation would have disarmed opposition; aggression was certain to consolidate it. James did not see that his success hitherto was the direct outcome of the belief that he contemplated a policy not of aggression but of moderation. He believed that the success itself provided a complete warrant for aggression.

Fatal success.

James saw two main obstacles in his way, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Test Act, though he had already employed the dispensing power to give appointments in the army and navy to a number of Roman Catholics. Sunderland (who was bent upon supplanting the High Anglican, Rochester), and the Jesuit, Father Petre, urged him on his course in spite of the more cautious counsels of Catholics who would have been well satisfied with a relaxation of the penal laws. The new note was struck when Halifax was dismissed in consequence of his flat refusal to be a party to the repeal of the two obnoxious Acts. When parliament reassembled in November, James formulated his demands for funds to maintain the standing army, the need of which had been proved by the late rebellion, and for the repeal of the Habeas Corpus and Test Acts. But a new note was struck in the parliament also. In opposition to ministers, the Commons voted, though by a majority of only one, that the discussion of the Test Act should precede the discussion of supply. In place of the maintenance of a standing army a bill for strengthening the militia was proposed; and an address was prepared which promised indemnity to the officers who had been appointed in contravention of the Test Act, but in effect called upon the king to cancel the appointments. In the Lords the appointments were hotly attacked, and the bishop of London, Henry Compton, declared that the Test Act was necessary to the security of the Church. The debate was adjourned; before it could be resumed the angry king prorogued parliament, although by so doing he cut himself off from the supply which was on the point of being granted.

A dangerous course.

Parliament protests and is prorogued.

King James was giving entire satisfaction to King Louis, and was grievously disappointing the enemies of the French policy. At the moment of James's accession the European powers were filled with high hopes that England would be drawn into their coalition. He had begun by professing a moderation which would have enabled him to work harmoniously with a Tory parliament, a parliament which would be ready to grant supplies for a policy opposed to Louis. Charles II., when he had the choice between dependence on

Disappointment of the powers.

parliament and dependence on Louis, chose the latter alternative, in part at least because his parliaments were dictatorial on the subject of the succession; but James, accepted by the nation, had nothing to fear from parliaments, especially one in which the Whigs had no chance of a majority. He had every reason, too, for desiring to be on good terms with the daughter and son-in-law who were bound to succeed him. His religion need not stand in the way, for Catholic Spain, the Emperor, and the Pope were all on the same side, the side opposed to Louis.

But if the other powers were hopeful, Louis himself was by no means despondent. The neutrality of England was indeed necessary to him, but he judged the situation somewhat differently from his sanguine opponents. It was perhaps annoying to him that James should summon a parliament at all, but if he could be persuaded to quarrel with that parliament no great harm would be done. It was therefore with entire satisfaction that Louis saw his obstinate cousin pursuing the precise course which he himself would have liked to prescribe. An aggressive religious policy was the one thing which would alienate Anglican Toryism and force parliament into antagonism. An antagonistic parliament, or a perpetually prorogued parliament, would equally force the king of England into the position of a pensioner of France. So Louis had no qualms about persisting in his own policy of aggression, and in carrying his persecution of the Huguenots to the extreme point—first by quartering troops upon them, much as the Highland Host had been quartered upon the Covenanters, and finally, in October, by revoking the Nantes edict of toleration, Henry IV.'s charter of religious liberty. If English Protestantism took alarm, that mattered nothing to him; it would only serve to widen and deepen the breach between the king of England and his parliament.

Louis satisfied.

Louis did not count in vain upon his cousin's short-sighted obstinacy. With a confidence in his own strength which was entirely misplaced, James believed that he could set at defiance the most cherished sentiments of the most devoted supporters of the Crown. Having got rid of parliament, the prorogation of which was renewed at

1686. James turns on the Church.

intervals till its final dissolution at the end of eighteen months, he opened a vindictive campaign against the Opposition by dismissing all office-holders who had voted against his wishes. In the summer he created a new Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, somewhat on the lines of the old High Commission Court, with Jeffreys at the head of it along with four other laymen and two bishops—the fourth layman taking the place of Archbishop Sancroft, who was nominated in the first instance. The court promptly suspended the bishop of London for having refused to silence on his own responsibility a preacher who had denounced popery. Judges who were not prepared to support the most advanced views on the subject of the dispensing power were removed. New and more compliant judges were found to take their place. Before a court thus carefully prepared a test case was brought against Colonel Hales, a Roman Catholic who held his commission in virtue of a royal dispensation from the obligations of the Test Act. The court pronounced in his favour. With this judgment to rely upon the king admitted Romanists to the Privy Council and appointed a Romanist to the deanery of Christchurch, Oxford. The archbishopric of York was kept vacant; it was generally believed that it would be filled when the papal permission should be obtained for appointing to it the Jesuit, Father Petre. A 'No Popery' riot in London gave occasion for massing the troops at Hounslow. Rochester, the representative of Anglican Toryism, was driven into retirement, and his brother Clarendon was recalled from Ireland, where the Romanist, Richard Talbot, who had been created earl of Tyrconnel, took his place as lord-lieutenant. Sunderland was ready to declare his conversion whenever the occasion should appear favourable; Rochester had a conscience, and refused to sell his soul for the treasurership.

Hales's case.

Promotion of Romanists.

Rochester's retirement marked the completeness of the breach, for James was personally extremely anxious to retain his services. From this time, January 1687, James learnt to realise that conscientious Anglicans were not to be converted to his way of thinking. Deprived of their support, it became necessary for him to con-

1687. Declaration of Indulgence, April.

ciliate some other body of opinion besides the Roman Catholics. He turned reluctantly to the dissenters. In the hope of winning them he issued on 4th April a Declaration of Indulgence, virtually suspending the Test Act and all the penal laws against Catholic recusancy and Protestant dissent.

Dissenters at first pleased,

The immediate effect appeared to be satisfactory. Grateful addresses came in from various dissenting bodies; Shaftesbury, the creator of the Whig party, had himself been the vehement advocate of a similar though less extensive declaration issued by King Charles fifteen years before. It seemed that with the Protestant dissenters at his back in place of the Anglicans James could face a new parliament; for it was as easy to reconstruct the new town corporations from one group as from the other. The fixed Toryism of the counties presented more difficulties. A more wholesale clearance of the justices of the peace than could be effected with any pretence of propriety seemed necessary; and though the existing parliament was at last dissolved, the election of a new one was delayed. And in the meantime James lost much of what he seemed to have won, by his unparalleled capacity for blundering. The dissenters wanted religious liberty for themselves; they could endure that it should be conceded to Roman Catholics also; but they could not endure that it should be used merely as a ladder by which papists should climb to dominion. Also the sons of Independents and of parliamentary Presbyterians were not likely to become willing tools for the establishment of an unveiled absolutism. Nevertheless, in the course of the year 1687 James showered the highest offices on papists, filled the Privy Council with papists, and raised papists right and left to magistracies and to the bench of judges. Protestant sentiment was perhaps even more violently outraged when a papal nuncio was publicly received in June, and the traditional loyalty of Anglican Oxford received its rudest shock when the fellows of Magdalen College were ejected in February 1688 for refusing to elect as their president a Roman Catholic nominee of the Crown; after which the fellowships were bestowed upon papists.

but soon alarmed.

Even James could not blind himself to the perturbation

aroused among the dissenters by these proceedings, nor to the active hostility which they were creating among the once enthusiastic advocates of the doctrine of Non-Resistance. Among the former he endeavoured to stem the tide of revulsion by issuing a second Declaration of Indulgence almost exactly a twelvemonth after the first. It confirmed the previous Declaration, but added a promise that parliament should be summoned not later than November. And a week later an order was issued that it should be read on two consecutive Sundays in every parish church.

1688. The second Declaration, April.

The limits of passive obedience were reached. A petition was drawn up, signed by Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops (Ken, White, Trelawney, Lake, Lloyd, and Turner), and presented to the king on 18th May. It prayed the king to withdraw the order, and it threw doubt upon the legality of such an exercise of the royal prerogative. Next day it was printed and circulated. The following day was the Sunday on which the Declaration was appointed to be read; the order was obeyed in only seven London churches. James, in his wrath, resolved to indict the seven bishops for publishing a seditious libel. They were arrested on 8th June, and the population of London turned out to make their journey to the Tower an ovation.

Petition of the seven bishops.

Two days after the bishops were committed to the Tower—on 10th June—a decisive event occurred. The queen, Mary of Modena, bore a son to King James. The event was unexpected, and with the fatuity which attended all that James did, the formalities attending the birth of a royal infant were neglected. The public, already highly excited, jumped to the quite untrue conclusion that the affair was a fraud, that the child was supposititious, that a baby had been smuggled into the palace merely to be passed off as heir to the crown, a papist heir who should supplant the king's Protestant daughters. The fiction seized the popular imagination and stirred the popular wrath. Yet James could see in the boy's birth only a signal proof of Divine favour. It

Birth of a Prince of Wales, 10th June.

made him more obstinately determined to pursue the course which he had marked out for himself.

On 29th June the trial of the bishops opened. Technical difficulties advanced by their counsel were overcome. The case was argued out. The jury at first declared itself unable to agree. Then the minority gave way. In the morning their verdict of acquittal was announced. James listened in sombre rage while London rang with joybells, and his own soldiers at Hounslow Heath uproariously proclaimed their Protestant satisfaction.

The bishops acquitted, 29th June.

Three years before the trial of the bishops a decisive change in the situation had been brought about by the death of Monmouth. The chance of a disputed succession, or of a revolt aiming at the deposition of James, had apparently vanished with the certainty that, whatever James might do, his Protestant children would succeed him on the throne. The king's crown was secure unless William and Mary should be tempted to anticipate the course of nature, and should endeavour to seize a throne which would one day come to them without any such violent measures. But while Monmouth's death had given present security it had also provided a potential danger, which might be converted into a living menace if the king strained the loyalty of his subjects too far. In that case the disaffected would no longer be divided, as they had been divided by Shaftesbury. Unanimously they would turn their eyes to The Hague.

Effect of Monmouth's death.

The second Declaration of Indulgence brought the strain almost to that point. Men saw that the king had an army with which, if it remained loyal to him, he could crush all armed resistance; and he had also at his disposal the means for packing a parliament which would almost inevitably destroy the House of Commons as an instrument of opposition. The prospect was so grave that in May William of Orange had actually signified to Edward Russell, cousin of him who had been executed in connection with the Rye House Plot, that he was prepared for armed intervention upon a sufficiently emphatic invitation. William had no fervent desire

Effect of the Declaration on William.

to be king of England, but he was extremely anxious to prevent England from joining hands with France. James had just demanded the return of the British regiments which were in the Dutch service because the Dutch had refused to place them under Roman Catholic officers; and Louis had agreed to subsidise him for their maintenance. This was the reason of William's readiness to take action.

In these circumstances the birth of a son to James decisively turned the scale. It interposed an heir-apparent between the English throne and Mary, who had hitherto been heir-presumptive. The trend of public feeling was sufficiently proved by the demonstrations on the release of the seven bishops; it was very doubtful indeed whether the king could even count on the support of the troops which had cheered themselves hoarse at the news. On the night of 30th June Admiral Herbert, who had been dismissed for opposing the repeal of the Test Act, crossed to Holland disguised as a common sailor, carrying with him an urgent invitation to William to bring an armed force to England—an invitation signed by the Tories, Danby and Lumley, the Whig Peers, Shrewsbury and Devonshire, Edward Russell and Henry Sidney, the brother of Algernon, and Compton, bishop of London. The invitation very expressly pointed out the course to be taken—repudiation of the legitimacy of the new-born baby and the assertion of Mary's claim to the succession. William's proposed intervention was not intended, either by himself or by those who summoned him, to involve the deposition of his father-in-law, but only the application of irresistible pressure upon his government.

Effect of the prince's birth.

If Louis XIV. had grasped the situation he might have paralysed William for intervention. William could not move without the support of the States-General, the government of Holland, and if the States-General had expected a direct attack upon them to be entailed by intervention, William would have been unsupported; they could have spared neither ships nor men. But Louis's attention was attracted in another direction. He intended to maintain his own claim, transferred to his grandson Philip, to the Spanish

Louis XIV. pre-occupied.

succession—a claim which would involve war with the emperor unless he could so strengthen himself as to be secure against attack. To that end he required the electoral archbishopric of Cologne to be under his control. The archbishopric fell vacant at this time; but since neither Louis's candidate nor the emperor's candidate could carry the election by a sufficient majority, the nomination fell to the Pope. The Pope was in alliance with the emperor, for the Curia was hostile to the Jesuit organisation which was dominant with Louis. Louis therefore resolved to establish his own candidate at Cologne by force of arms. Consequently his energies were concentrated upon the preparation of a campaign in the Palatinate, which almost precluded him from effectively threatening Holland.

Yet even this preoccupation would not have prevented Louis from coming to his cousin's rescue but for James's own folly.

James alienates Louis.

First, he refused to believe that anything was to be feared from his son-in-law's preparations. Then he found his pride insulted by the suggestion that he was in need of French aid. Still, Louis went so far as to warn the States-General that he was pledged to treat an attack upon England as a *casus belli*. James straightway repudiated the suggestion that there was any secret compact between himself and the French king, and declared himself ready to support the Dutch in maintaining the Treaty of Nimeguen. After that Louis would hardly have been human if he had made any further efforts on his cousin's behalf.

Meanwhile James had been doing no good to his own cause in England. It was obvious that he was seeking to ensure that

Blunders in England.

the parliament promised for November should be nothing but a packed assembly of royal nominees. Then he woke up to the fact that his son-in-law was really coming. He already had a very considerable force concentrated in the neighbourhood of London; but, not satisfied with this, he resolved to supplement it with several regiments from Ireland and Scotland, forgetting that by so doing he would destroy what loyalty there was among the English troops.

At last, when concession could only be interpreted as the

outcome of panic, he started upon a whole series of concessions, in the vain hope of recovering the support of the populace at large, and Churchmen in particular; abolishing the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, reinstating the suspended bishop of London, and reversing a crowd of recently made appointments. But he did not cancel the commissions of the Roman Catholic officers. His effort at conciliation had come too late; it was hopelessly unconvincing, besides going foolishly far in some directions and not nearly far enough in others, and it only developed a general conviction of his own weakness and the strength of the Opposition. Even the dismissal of Sunderland in October was entirely ineffective, though the public had been inclined to regard that minister as the king's evil genius. Popular opinion attributed his fall not to the change in the king's policy but to the discovery—wholly conjectural—that he was in secret correspondence with the king's enemies.

Conciliation offered too late.

The sailing of William's expedition was first delayed by contrary winds, and then by a storm which scattered it when it first put to sea. He had employed the weeks of delay in preparing a declaration, in which he announced his intention of insisting that the urgent matters of dispute should be referred to a free parliament, a demand to which no section of public opinion could very well demur. On 1st November he set sail for the second time; evaded Lord Dartmouth's fleet, which was lying off the coast of Essex in the expectation that he would make Yorkshire his objective; sailed down Channel, and landed at Tor Bay on 5th November.

The coming of William, 5th November.

At any period of his reign James could have made himself perfectly secure by accepting the finality of the Test Act and claiming only a relaxation of the penal laws, which would have satisfied both Romanists and dissenters, and in which the Anglican Tories would have acquiesced, though not perhaps without murmuring. If he had gone further, and broken with France altogether, he would have been supported even with enthusiasm; and the Romanists in the country would have benefited, because the connection with the man who had

Safe alternatives.

dragooned the Huguenots and revoked the Edict of Nantes excited Protestant alarm, which would have been allayed by joining a coalition, in which the Protestant Dutch were united with Catholic powers who had denounced the *dragonnades*. Even in November 1688 a frank and unqualified declaration that this would be his policy in the future would have been sufficient. Theoretically William was asking for nothing more, and the men who had sent for him were asking for nothing more—nothing, at least, on which they would insist; for they could not have clung obstinately to their demand that James should repudiate his son. If, further, he had summoned the promised parliament even without packing, it would certainly in the circumstances have supported him. Even if he had neither summoned parliament nor made promises, but had boldly declared that no king of England could submit to the dictation of an invader with foreign troops at his back, he would have carried the sentiment of the nation with him.

The fatal alternative.

He chose instead to follow the course most fatal to his own interests. As a young man he had proved himself not lacking in the soldier's courage; but in the face of the crisis he lost nerve completely. He forfeited the loyalty of his most loyal followers by proving that he distrusted every one—ministers, officers, soldiers. If he had marched straight on the west at the head of his troops, William would probably have had to retreat to his ships. But he did not dare to advance; with every day's delay supporters dropped away from the cause of the man who would not defend himself; and those who had hesitated to declare themselves in opposition ceased to hesitate. William's strength grew; at the moment when James joined his army at Salisbury, William began to advance from the west.

'The thanes fly from me.'

On 24th November James resolved to fall back. His officers were already irritated because he had chosen for the chief command the Frenchman, Lord Feversham. John Churchill and others perceived in the king's decision the final demonstration that he was about to scuttle the ship, and they promptly betook themselves to William. George of Denmark followed suit, and the Princess Anne hurried from

London to join the earl of Devonshire, who was raising the Midlands, as Danby was raising Yorkshire. All reports that came in brought news of defections.

At last James appealed to those former counsellors of his whom he had driven into retirement, Halifax, Nottingham, and Clarendon, and the silent but ever useful Sidney Godolphin. They insisted that parliament must be summoned, the officers who had been appointed in defiance of the Test Acts dismissed, an amnesty proclaimed, and a commission sent to discuss the situation with the Prince of Orange. Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin were appointed commissioners; but the king had decided to throw up the game even when he was agreeing to their demands. He saw no safety but in flight. While the writs were being issued for the new parliament to meet in January and the commissioners were discussing terms with William, he dispatched his wife and child to France (9th December), passed the midnight hours in destroying the writs and collecting such valuables as he could carry, and in the small hours of the morning stole from Whitehall and took ship for France. When the commissioners arrived in London on the 11th to obtain his consent to William's proposals, the king was no longer there, and the Great Seal was at the bottom of the Thames.

The king's flight, 10th December.

Nothing could better have pleased William. He had never proposed his father-in-law's deposition; but the flight was a virtual abdication, and it obviously lay with him now not to seize the crown but to form a provisional government. For the moment indeed the loyalist peers in London took that task upon themselves, for there was no parliament and no legal authority anywhere. They issued a declaration, in effect inviting William's co-operation in framing a settlement compatible with the liberties of the nation and the privileges of the Church. But they had no means of enforcing order; for two days there was rioting in London, during which Judge Jeffreys was caught by the mob, snatched from destruction at its hands, and haled before the peers, who sent him to the Tower, where shortly afterwards he

The peers and the Prince of Orange.

died. Meanwhile the city itself had invited William to advance upon London if only for the purpose of enforcing order.

Accident gave James still one last chance. His ship was boarded by some fishermen, who fancied that they were catching runaway Catholic priests. When the king was carried ashore they discovered who he was. Two days later the peers, hearing the report, sent to escort him back to London, which he re-entered on the 15th amidst public rejoicings.

The last chance, 15th December.

The return was embarrassing to William. The flight had definitely brought Halifax and others over to his side; it had seemed to ensure to him that complete ascendency which was indeed eminently desirable provided that he did not owe it to overt violence. He did not want to expel the king, but he did very much wish him to run away again. He resolved to frighten James; and he succeeded. James was left every facility for flight; and on 22nd December he availed himself of his opportunities, slipped on board a ship, and on Christmas Day landed in France, to take up his residence as his cousin's guest at the palace of St. Germain.

The second flight, 22nd December.

CHAPTER XVI. UNDER STUART KINGS, 1603-1688

I. EXPANSION

THE outstanding feature of the whole period of our history from the Union of the Crowns in 1603 to the flight of James II. at the end of 1688 is the constitutional struggle between the Crown and Parliament for the supreme control of the State; a struggle which turned upon the claim of the Crown to control the religion of its subjects, and upon the claim of Parliament to impose the conditions upon which alone the Crown might obtain revenues sufficient to carry on the government. On both points the final victory lay with Parliament; and that victory was absolutely decisive, though it was not demonstrably achieved until the last Stuart lost his crown by flight.

The period.

That struggle so absorbed both thinkers and men of action throughout the period, and so absorbs also the interest of posterity, that we are apt to overlook another aspect of the period. It was the first great era of colonial and commercial expansion—the era which prepared the way for the imperial expansion of the next century the century during which Great Britain became decisively the first of commercial nations, the supreme maritime power, and the mistress of a vast trans-oceanic Empire. When James I. ascended his throne England had forced her way into the front rank among the maritime powers; but her newly-won position was by no means secured. She was only just pushing her way into the front rank among her commercial competitors. Her trans-oceanic expansion was still no more than a vision of dreamers. When James II. vacated the throne she had forged in front of her commercial rivals; as a naval power she had passed Holland, and had not been overtaken by France; and she was in occupation of the whole seaboard of North America between Florida and Acadia.

The beginnings of empire.

Commercial expansion was the outcome of private enterprise alone; it was fostered by the State only by the granting of charters to monopolist companies which could push their way in regions where individuals could not hold their own. Private enterprise rather than State organisation created the fighting navy which destroyed the Spanish Armada; but under the Stuarts and the Commonwealth the fighting navy became exclusively instead of only in part an instrument organised and wielded by the State. Colonial expansion was the work of private enterprise, in which the State interfered only to protect home interests, not to organise dominion. Even seizures of territory by the State, the capture of Jamaica from Spain and of New York from the Dutch, were merely accidental by-products of wars with those two powers, not the outcome of a deliberate policy of annexation. Herein lies the fundamental distinction of method between England and every other colonising power. Spain made her colonies estates of the Crown; the Dutch colonies were controlled from home by the States-General; the French government exercised its paternal sway over the French colonies, and the French expansion in the second half of the century was deliberately organised by the State under the management of the great minister, Colbert. But in England not only was the initiative left to private enterprise, but private enterprise was left very nearly a free hand and allowed to take care of itself from beginning to end, the State giving it only the minimum of assistance.

The State and private enterprise.

Under the Plantagenets commerce with Europe could only be carried on by English merchants under the ægis of a company which could compel its members to obey its regulations, and could bring combined pressure to bear for their protection. There was no admittance to the market for the outsider who was not guaranteed by an authorised company as a respectable law-abiding person; and the individual without a company at his back was not strong enough to obtain justice if he got into difficulties. But just as the pressure of public opinion and the instinct of law gradually dissolved the necessity for the strict regulation and supervision of trade in the

The need of regulation.

home market, so the same instinct removed the necessity for corresponding regulation and restriction in the markets of the advanced states of Western Europe during the sixteenth, and still more during the seventeenth century. Free trading in the old sense, which opposed the 'free trader' to the member of a company, became not only possible but general. But outside the area of the highly developed Western states, the old necessity still survived; for the double reason that the trader still required both a substantial force at his back to protect him, and a guarantee that he was not a brigand or a pirate.

Hence arose the great extension of 'regulated' companies during the age of Elizabeth, the companies in which each member traded for himself but subject to the regulations of the company to which he belonged. They obtained necessary authority over members by charters from the government, and therewith the exclusive right of trading: first, because security against competition seemed necessary to provide adequate inducement to embark in such venturesome forms of commerce; secondly, because the free trader under no control might bring discredit upon his countrymen; and thirdly, because the grantees were prepared to give consideration for the privileges conferred. But in the seventeenth century there came a modification, introduced by the East India Company. The trade with the East Indies to be effective involved an outlay too great for any but a very small number of individuals. The 'regulated' company was converted in 1612 into a joint-stock company, of which the members ceased to be individually traders, but became shareholders; receiving a proportionate share of the profits of the trade which was carried on by the paid servants of the company. We have observed that the same principle was applied to the foundation of the American colonies, where, however, territorial dominion took the place of exclusive rights of trading.

Regulated companies.

Joint stock.

By the creation in the reign of Elizabeth of the Prussian Company, the Muscovy Company, and the Levant or Turkey Company, England captured a large share of the trade with the Baltic and the Eastern Mediterranean. The establishment of the

American colonies gave her a market for her own products, and brought to her own shores the produce of the plantations and of the fur-trading in the northern settlements. Another great joint-stock company of the Restoration period, the Hudson Bay Company, in which Prince Rupert took an active part, brought the north and the interior, beyond the French colony of Canada, into the sphere of English commercial operations. Sundry African companies entered upon a rivalry with the Dutch and Portuguese.

Growing markets.

But the success which overshadowed all others was that of the East India Company. While the Dutch succeeded in preserving their monopoly of the Spice Islands, the English traders acquired a footing on the west coast of India at Surat in 1612. In 1639 a second great centre was established at Fort St. George, or Madras, on the south-east coast, the Carnatic. Shortly before this they had planted a factory at the mouth of the Hugli, the great outlet of the Ganges; but here they found themselves much hampered by the Viceroy, whose main object was to extract as much as he could out of the traders. Immunity from his impositions, however, was obtained from the Mogul in 1640 by one of the company's surgeons, as a reward for successful treatment of one of the emperor's daughters. The factory at Hugli flourished greatly, and half a century afterwards was transferred to a point lower down the river which was named Fort William in honour of William III., and then grew famous as the great city of Calcutta.

The East India Company.

The success of the East India Company excited the jealousy of the merchants who were outside it, and Charles I., during the years when there was no parliament, licensed outside adventurers to infringe the company's monopoly. This, however, was restored to them by Cromwell in 1654. The general inclination of the Commonwealth government was to discourage company monopolies; but although the 'interlopers,' as the outsiders were called, were prepared to offer substantial inducements to the government for the right of free trading, the Protector recognised the need for regulated trading in a region where English and Dutch rivalries produced some-

Jealousy of the East India Company.

thing not far removed from a perpetual state of war between the traders of the two nations. The trade which had suffered considerably during the Civil War revived, and in the reign of William III. we shall find controversy raging round the question whether it was beneficial to the country or the reverse. Through the whole of this period, and for long afterwards, the prevalent mercantile theory maintained that any trade was bad for the country which caused it to exchange bullion for goods. Since British products were not wanted in India, whereas Indian products were wanted in Europe, India in exchange for her goods drained England of her bullion. The orthodox mercantilists, however, escaped the dilemma by pointing out that, though the Indian goods were brought to England, they were sold again on the European continent in exchange for bullion, and consequently in the long run the balance of trade was satisfied.

The expansion of English shipping and the capture of the carrying trade at the expense of the Dutch were fostered by the Dutch war and the Navigation Acts of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. As the Dutch trade was still much the greater, while in fighting power the two countries were fairly evenly matched, the Dutch mercantile marine suffered much more than the English. The Navigation Act of 1651 was intended to secure the carrying trade by making the Dutch useless as carriers to and from British ports—for Scotland and the colonies were placed on the same footing as England. The Act was renewed after the Restoration, and in the course of the next quarter of a century England had outstripped Holland as the great carrier; but the new Act was regardful of English interests alone. Scottish and Irish shipping counted no longer as English, but as foreign, and the colonists were allowed to send their goods only to English ports. The Acts forbade the importation of goods to England except in English ships, or in the ships of the country where the goods were produced. How far this had the effect of limiting trade is an open question; but it can hardly be doubted that it developed the carrying trade of England at the expense of her rivals. The direct benefits to any given trade of protecting

The Dutch war.

The Navigation Acts.

that trade are obvious and on the surface; it requires a closer scrutiny to detect and still more to measure the indirect injuries which may be inflicted on other trades, and sometimes on the protected trade itself. In the seventeenth century practically no one had any qualms as to the advantage of the artificial fostering of any trade which had to fight against competition.

The navy under James I. and Charles I.

In the years of peace which followed the termination of the Elizabethan struggle with Spain, the English navy fell into decay under the comatose administration of the old earl of Nottingham, who had been Lord High Admiral at the time of the Armada. Jobbery and corruption were rife in the department. A commission of inquiry in 1618, and the sound economies of Lionel Cranfield, led to a considerable improvement. Buckingham had a real wish to strengthen the fleet, a wish shared by Charles both as Prince of Wales and as king. During many years the government endeavoured to build up a very powerful fleet; when ship-money was collected it was at first honestly devoted to ship-building and naval improvements. In appearance, at least, the fleets which took the seas during the period of government without parliament were powerful and impressive; the serious defects were those which honeycombed the whole administration, the influence of courtiers and the corruption of officials.

The Commonwealth navy,

When the Commonwealth government was established therefore it had in its hands the material for the construction of a really powerful navy. As the New Model Army had demonstrated the enormous improvement in the value of identical material attainable by a sound organisation, so the naval material was organised with a single eye to the production of a tremendous engine of war, which proved itself more than a match for the mighty fleets of the United Provinces. In the time of Elizabeth the creation of a great fighting power had been the work of an extremely energetic individualism. Drake and Hawkins and Frobisher had learnt their business as mariners sailing the seas on their own account; it was necessary that

compared with the Elizabethan.

this should be so, because the full development required a complete departure from all the traditions of naval warfare. The Armada itself had put to the test the two rival theories, the old and the new. The new triumphed decisively, but not till the series of engagements in the Channel had compelled the English sailors to realise the need of more organised methods than they had adopted at the outset. The system under which the initiative was left entirely to the individual had not proved its decisive superiority to the system in which the individual was allowed no initiative at all. The Spanish fleet which reached Calais had been badly mauled, but was by no means broken up. The systematising of the English attack, and the dispersal by the fireships of the Spanish formation *en masse*, between them made the new theory triumphant. In the ten years of naval warfare which followed the Armada, the full necessity for a higher organisation had not been grasped, because the war had not taken the shape of a series of engagements between large and equally matched fleets. When we compare the Elizabethan with the Commonwealth fleet, the former appears as a collection of admirable fighting machines, the latter as one great fighting machine, but a machine in which there was still room for individual energy and initiative.

The observer cannot but be struck by the fact that the Commonwealth admirals were soldiers, and that the admirals continued to be soldiers for the most part throughout the period of the Restoration. Blake, Dean, Monk, and afterwards Rupert, were all of them men who had learnt the art of war as landsmen. They brought into the navy that higher organisation which the sailors had not evolved for themselves. When they had done their work and taught the sailors the necessary lesson, it was not long before it became evident that sailors were better commanders of fleets than soldiers, though Blake himself was never surpassed by any sailor save Nelson. The military period, we may say, was a necessary phase in the full development, though it was no less necessary that it should be only a temporary phase; and it was singularly happy in having as its representative man one who understood

The soldier-admirals.

precisely how to apply his military training to naval affairs, and to adapt it to maritime conditions.

The work done under the Commonwealth, which had fully realised the vital importance of naval development, was carried on under the Restoration. Both James, as admiral, and Charles II. himself, were devoted to naval development, and were as keenly interested in shipbuilding as Henry VIII. himself. Even at the moment when the Dutch guns were thundering in the Medway, England owned a fleet which was more than a match for the Dutch; that disgraceful episode was due simply to the laying up of half the fleet in time of war for reasons which have been discussed elsewhere. The principle that the fleet was the grand instrument of national power was fully grasped by the last two Stuart kings and by the nation at large; the fact is only obscured by the other fact that both for the kings and the nation the desire to maintain and expand the fleet was periodically overridden by the exigencies of the constitutional struggle. That constitutional struggle was hardly closed when the fleet created by the Commonwealth and the Stuarts emerged decisively as the most powerful on the face of the waters, presently to become the overwhelmingly decisive factor in the great eighteenth-century struggle for trans-oceanic empire.

The Restoration navy.

We turn now to the actual development of trans-oceanic empire during the period between the death of James I. and the flight of James II.; we have already seen its foundations laid in the two typical colonies of Virginia and Plymouth, while James I. was still on the throne; colonies followed up by the Puritan settlement of Massachusetts in 1628, and in 1632 by the tolerationist, but mainly Catholic, plantation of Maryland, immediately on the north of Virginia. Partly by emigration, partly by expansion from Massachusetts, the northern or New England settlements were extended along the coast till they were blocked on the south by the Dutch colonists in the Hudson, who interposed a wedge between the agriculturists and fur-traders in the north and the plantation colonies in the south. Meanwhile, still further to

The colonies.

Dutch and French rivals.

the north the French had taken possession of Canada, the valley of the St. Lawrence, and disputed with the British the region which they called Acadie or Acadia, where James had already endeavoured to create a new Scotland, Nova Scotia, by planting colonists from that country. Acadia, however, was recognised as French in 1632, though for three-quarters of a century it was to be a periodical bone of contention between French and English.

It is to be remarked that the whole group of the New England settlements were emphatically Puritan, that Puritanism brought them into being, and that emigration to them was confined to Puritans who would not endure the rule of Archbishop Laud in England. As an outlet for Puritans they were not regarded with disfavour by the home government; they drew off many of the most irreconcilable and most enterprising spirits, especially from the eastern counties; they very nearly drew off Cromwell himself, who told Falkland that if the Grand Remonstrance had been defeated, he would have emigrated. Nevertheless Laud had thoughts of intervening for the imposition of his own ecclesiastical views upon New England. The troubles in Scotland, due to a similar attempt, prevented such action from ever being taken; but the fear of it, combined with the danger from French rivalry in the north, Dutch rivalry in the south, and Indian hostility, caused the New England colonies to initiate a sort of federal system for common defence in 1643, which survived for some forty years. For obvious reasons, New England was entirely on the side of parliament and the Commonwealth, while the sentiment of Virginia and Maryland was Royalist. Compulsion had to be applied in the south before those colonies would acknowledge the supremacy of the Commonwealth.

New England.

Besides the plantations on the mainland, the English began to plant themselves in West Indian islands where the Spaniards were not already in occupation. The Bermudas were the first to be actually occupied, in 1609. Barbadoes was nominally occupied in 1605, and effectively in 1624. In 1636 there were no less than six thousand English settlers, by which date some of the Leeward Islands had also been

The West Indies.

occupied—St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat, though St. Kitts was shared with the French. We have seen how from 1648 onward these islands were used for the deportation of 'rebels' who were sent out as slaves for the planters. The English colonisation of the West Indies was crowned by the almost accidental seizure of Jamaica in 1655 after the failure of the attack upon Cartagena.

The expansion continued under the Restoration government. In 1663 Carolina, the region between Virginia on the north and Florida on the south, was granted by Charles II. to a group of proprietors among whom were numbered both Clarendon and Shaftesbury. Even more than Virginia, Carolina became a region of white landholders forming an aristocracy whose plantations were cultivated by great numbers of negro slaves. The treaty of 1667 with the Dutch gave England the Dutch colony on the Hudson, and a continuous coastline. The establishment of the English colonies on the mainland of North America was practically completed when the Quaker William Penn was allowed by Charles II. in 1681 to found the colony called Pennsylvania, taking up the district which lay between Maryland and the recently acquired New York. The Quaker sect found no favour either with Independents, Presbyterians, or Anglicans; even under the Commonwealth they had suffered persecution; and there was no room for them among the intolerant Puritans of Massachusetts, and little enough in the other New England colonies. Penn himself was in favour both with Charles and with the duke of York, the more because the king owed him money; and it was largely by way of redeeming this debt that the charter was granted to him. Complete religious toleration and the maximum of political liberty were the leading principles on which the constitution of the colony was based.

New colonies under Charles II.

Broadly speaking, the colonies were established on the general principle that they might go their own way and take care of themselves so long as they did nothing detrimental to the interests of the mother country; but to this was gradually superadded in practice what would otherwise never

The colonial theory.

have been questioned in theory, that it was legitimate to impose upon them limitations in the direct interest of the mother country. The theory was that concessions had been granted to the colonists for which it was only reasonable that they should render some return. The concessions were made by charter, that is, upon specified conditions, and the colonists who had accepted the conditions were not afterwards entitled to repudiate them. Whereas the colonists were somewhat apt to be of the opinion that they carried with them all the normal rights of English citizenship, and that no peculiar limitations ought to be applied to them.

Effect of the Navigation Acts.

The Commonwealth Navigation Act of 1651 was detrimental to the colonies because most of their carrying trade was at this time done by the Dutch. Colonial ports and colonial shipping were placed on the same footing as English ports and English shipping, but without the Dutch the shipping was altogether insufficient for the colonial trade. The effect might have been ruinous if the authorities had not sedulously winked at evasions of the law. The Navigation Act of the Restoration was directed much more definitely to the advantage of the English merchant. It did not deprive the colonial shipping of its rights, but it enacted that sundry colonial goods should be exported only to English ports or to English colonial ports, so that it was only from actually English ports that they could be re-exported abroad. At the same time foreign commodities could be imported to the colonies only from ports in England where they had already paid duties. That is to say, all colonial commerce with foreign countries had to pay its share to the revenue of the mother country as well as of the colony. England would indeed have been unique if she had not adopted this policy; but that did not prevent it from causing resentment in the colonies even at this early stage.

The Council of Trade.

The last point here to be noted is that as early as 1643 the English government was becoming alive to the national importance of the colonies, and the parliament in that year created a special board for dealing with colonial questions. At the Restoration this board was developed into a

'Council of Trade and Plantations' to advise the Secretary of State on colonial matters. It should be remarked that at this time the ultimate control of the colonies lay not with parliament but with the Crown and the Privy Council; and while the Crown was not unmindful of its own revenues, it was not like the parliament of later generations guided by the specific interests of the English mercantile community. That attitude towards the colonies which tended to treat them as if they existed primarily for the benefit of merchants in England belongs to the later period.

Rural conditions.

The reign of Elizabeth, the great era of reconstruction, witnessed as part of that reconstruction the readjustment of industrial conditions. The great displacement of labour, due mainly to the substitution of pasture for tillage, had come to an end as the profits of agriculture and wool-growing became equalised, and a certain proportion of the displaced labourers found occupation in those minor trades in which apprenticeship was unnecessary or was practically open. The results manifested themselves in the next century. Spinning and weaving developed as domestic industries carried on in the cottage and the farmhouse, supplementing the income of the cottar and the yeoman, and making comparatively easy a subsistence which was difficult when dependent exclusively on agricultural work. For a time there was even a tendency to an improvement in agricultural processes, the outcome of the partial displacement of open-field farming by enclosures; for it was only on the enclosed land that experiment was possible, or that the individual could act upon his own initiative. The beginnings were seen with the introduction of roots and grasses. The idea of improving land by drainage was to some extent taken up, and a considerable portion of the Fenland was reclaimed—not without much opposition from the localities concerned, where the population received no compensation for the loss of miscellaneous rights of fowling and turf-cutting which they had enjoyed before the reclamation.

The movements, however, were checked by the Civil War, and it was not till the eighteenth century that any considerable

improvements in agriculture were introduced. But the actual damage done by the Civil War was extraordinarily small; England saw practically nothing of the destructive violence which in the Thirty Years' War ruined half Germany. As compared with foreign countries, she was in effect enjoying the blessings of peace through all the time when Cavaliers and Roundheads were fighting each other; trade and agriculture continued to be carried on with very little disturbance.

Effects of the Civil War.

The period was not one of vigorous industrial expansion, but it was marked by a continuation of the equable industrial prosperity which had been initiated in the reign of Elizabeth, and was secured so far as legislation could secure it by the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices and the Poor Law. Beside the woollen industry, the cotton industry began to develop, partly in consequence of the development of the American plantations; while a healthy linen industry continued to grow in Ireland, after it had been nursed into vigour by Wentworth, because, happily for Ireland, it did not take root in England, and consequently the government was not called upon to check it.

Equable prosperity.

The Elizabethan Poor Law remained practically unmodified except by the Restoration Law of Settlement, which had an injurious effect as tending to check the fluidity of labour, the power of labour to transfer itself from one area or employment to another. The migration of labour from a congested district to a district where there were more openings for employment was not an easy matter in any case; the Law of Settlement made it more difficult by empowering the local authorities to send back the masterless immigrant to his own parish or hundred. The reason for it is intelligible enough; it was not considered fair that the parish should be required to find work or maintenance for outsiders as well as for its own poor; every parish ought to look after its own poor. But the practical effect was to limit the supply of labour where there was room for expansion, and to preserve an excessive supply where no expansion was going forward.

There was no great development of new manufacturing industries, although at the very close of our period a fresh impulse in that direction was given when England, with Holland and Brandenburg, became the great asylum for the refugees from the persecuting religious policy of Louis XIV., and the flower of the French industrial population fled from France before and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Those refugees did not come as competitors with the English workmen, but brought with them industries which had not hitherto been practised in England and which presently became indigenous.

The Huguenot immigration.

II. Literature

The dawn of the great imaginative literature of England was heralded by Chaucer in the latter half of the fourteenth century. After an interval of nearly two centuries it broke in full glory during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign—the years of triumph, the years which were to England as were those which followed upon Marathon and Salamis to Athens. The sudden splendour of Spenser and Shakespeare was no isolated outburst as in the case of their great predecessor, to be followed by another period of twilight; throughout the reign of Elizabeth's successor hardly twelve months passed without the production of some imaginative work of the highest rank. We are still inclined to call the great writers of that period Elizabethans because they all belong to the group which expressed the Elizabethan spirit in literature, as in other fields it was expressed by the Drakes and Raleighs, the Burleighs and the Walsinghams; a spirit of daring enterprise accompanied by a peculiar self-control and sanity; a spirit which again finds its counterpart in the ancient world in the era of Æschylus and Sophocles. In point of time the era might be called Jacobean with no less propriety than Elizabethan; for half of Shakespeare's work, and more than half, or sometimes the whole, of the work of the other great dramatists actually belonged to the reign not of Elizabeth but of James. Still, the original Elizabethan impulse was fading; not much

The poetic impulse.

sign of it remains after about 1620; the intellectual movement was taking new forms.

In the true Elizabethans a virile Paganism, a vast capacity for enjoyment, a delight in sheer energy, had been combined with a deep seriousness; the creator of Falstaff and Nick Bottom was the creator also of Hamlet and Lear; but with the growth of Puritanism there passed away that harmony between the Paganism which delights in the transient splendours and humours of the world and the Christianity which fixes its gaze on Eternity. Seriousness became too serious to admit of frivolity; comedy was excluded from the Puritan purview. And Paganism in revenge set all seriousness at naught, seeing in Puritanism nothing but rank hypocrisy. There are no more Spensers, at the same time gorgeously sensuous and passionately pure; no more Shakespeares with an equal zest for irresponsible comedy and tremendous tragedy. Poetry is absorbed into the sublime austerity of Milton or the airy trifling of the Cavalier poets, or, finally, the meretricious brilliancy of the Restoration dramatists. And with the subsidence of Puritanism and the victory of the Reaction, verse almost ceases to be the vehicle of the deeper emotions, and becomes in the hand of its greatest master, John Dryden, the instrument primarily of the satire which appeals not to the emotions but to the intellect.

Pagan and Puritan.

The Elizabethan spirit, embracing every aspect of human life, rejecting nothing as alien, found its most characteristic literary development in the drama. Puritanism, concentrating upon a particular aspect of human life—the relation of man not to his fellow men, but to his Maker—could scarcely have found success in the same field. As a matter of fact, it eschewed the drama for a different reason; it regarded play-acting as a source of moral corruption. But even if it had not done so the exclusiveness of its outlook would have prevented it from developing a drama of any richness or variety. The fact is exemplified in the supreme Puritan poet. Milton rose superior to the conventional Puritan view of stage plays: he did not regard the dramatic form as in itself an evil thing; on the contrary, he made use of it twice; and it was his original

Puritanism and drama.

design to give the shape of a tragedy to what he recast as his great religious epic, *Paradise Lost*. But no one thinks either of *Comus* or of *Samson Agonistes* as a play; and he himself saw that the dialogue form demands an interplay of character altogether inappropriate to his divine theme.

And Milton represented the type of Puritanism with the broadest outlook. The *Comus* and the *Samson* are its consummate expression. *Comus* reveals the Puritanism which was not the blind fervour of religious emotion, not a hide-bound theological system, not a fierce controversial creed engendered by persecution and battle, unconscious of beauty, but an ethical passion rooted in the love of things lovely, yet rating moral loveliness above all other; the Puritanism with which a Falkland could sympathise no less than a Cromwell; the same Puritanism which permeates *Lycidas*, though there the controversial element breaks out. It typified Puritanism before it was distorted by the fanaticism born of civil strife, an energy purifying and beautifying. But when the *Samson* was written Puritanism had been defeated and crushed. The Philistines had triumphed. Only there remained with the poet the conviction that as of old the blind hero would still arise in the strength of the Lord of Hosts, and Dagon's temple would be shattered. But neither *Comus* nor *Samson* could be a drama in the true sense of the term, because in each the allegorical interest entirely overrides the human interest, and we find ourselves concerned not with live persons but only with embodied ideas.

Milton.

The poetry of Puritanism attained its consummation in the great achievement of *Paradise Lost*, which, like the *Samson*, was actually the product of the Restoration period. Its purpose is summed up in the Invocation to the Holy Spirit to instruct the poet

Puritanism inevitably didactic.

> 'That to the height of this great argument
> I may assert Eternal providence
> And justify the ways of God to man.'

The didactic motive is supreme, not the lyrical impulse of the poet to express his own emotion, nor the dramatic instinct which

drives him to attempt to render life as he sees it and understands it. This is the Puritan prophet's high office—to 'justify the ways of God to men.' It is a function which no dramatist, unless it were Æschylus, ever consciously attempted to discharge.

Absorption in the religious emotion dominating all others limited the literary range of Puritanism, while it produced masterpieces in one particular kind. But, broadly speaking, Englishmen were divided into Puritans and anti-Puritans; though both were to be found on either side in the political struggle. The practical effect was that the anti-Puritan rejected seriousness altogether. Without seriousness there can be no great poetry, and therefore the only post-Jacobean poetry which was great was also Puritan. Of verse charming without being great, there was abundance—the verse of the minor emotions, dainty fancies daintily expressed, whereof the supreme exponent was Robert Herrick. **Minor verse.**

With the anti-Puritan reaction at the Restoration, when Samson lay bound and blinded, a mock for the Philistines, the Philistines were themselves in even worse case than before, because they were not only lacking in seriousness, but held it in utter contempt. For a time they were not merely non-moral and irresponsible, they were actively immoral, antagonistic to morality. The attempt to portray human nature, starting from the hypothesis that to be virtuous is to be ridiculous, must fail because it contradicts the facts of human life; and the Restoration drama failed, in spite of the glittering wit of its comedy, because of its essential unreality, an unreality which extended not only to comedy but to tragedy. Tragedy divorced from ethics is unthinkable; sincerity is the condition of its success, and was precisely the condition which was most wanting to it. Being wholly artificial in its essence, it was necessarily artificial in form; it was obliged to conform to artificial criteria, and became so fettered by conventional standards that there was no room left for spontaneity or sincerity, even after a moral tone compatible with tragic sincerity had been recovered. **The Restoration.**

Surveying the whole poetic period then we find first twenty years of unsurpassed splendour, especially in the field of drama;

then an interval during which the old impulses have lost their virile force; then a fresh concentration of high poetic energy in one typical Puritan, itself interrupted by a lacuna of five-and-twenty years during which the poet was absorbed in politics. And after the Restoration, the highest poetic energy is still found exclusively in the same individual, although beside it there is a vast amount of literary energy of an order not purely poetic. Our explanation is that pure poetry is primarily concerned with the emotions, the highest poetry with the deepest emotions. The effect of the development of Puritanism was to concentrate emotion upon religion, limiting the great poetic impulse to a single field in which only one man was capable of great achievement. But the very severity of the concentration was followed by a reaction in which all intensity of emotion was repellent. Without intensity of emotion there can be no high poetic impulse, and until the reaction was in its turn exhausted there was no more great poetry, though there were consummate masters of verse as an instrument for other purposes, and though also a minor poetry, concerned with the minor emotions, continued to flourish throughout.

Zeitgeist.

But poetry is only one phase of intellectual activity. The reign of King James produced the greatest of all monuments of English prose—the Authorised Version of the Bible; Richard Hooker completed his *Ecclesiastical Polity*; Raleigh wrote his *History of the World*; and to the same period belong the whole of the works of Francis Bacon with the exception of a few of the essays. Bacon himself elected to write in Latin instead of in English the works to which he himself attached the highest importance, but his English works suffice to establish the supremacy of his genius and his position as one of the great masters of English prose. Bacon was an Elizabethan to precisely the same extent as Shakespeare was an Elizabethan, in point of time; but he represented that side of the intellectual movement of the day which was to bear its richest fruits in the aftertime—the scientific side, which concerns itself with the relations not between man and God, or man and man, but primarily at least between man and Nature. Bacon took all knowledge to be his

Bacon.

province, because he conceived all knowledge to be attainable by the human intellect if pursued by the right methods. The boundless field of investigation lay before him, and he dreamed of a universal science—a dream which he left as a legacy to his sometime secretary, Thomas Hobbes.

But religion and politics absorbed men's minds from the accession of Charles I. till the restoration of his son. Only a few could detach themselves from the turmoil; such as Sir Thomas Browne, whose *Religio Medici* and *Urn Burial* are the most fascinating examples of ornate and discursive prose, or Izaak Walton, beloved of all votaries of the 'gentle art.' The pressure was too great for Milton himself, who for many years almost completely deserted his diviner Muse and joined in the battle of warring pamphlets, to which we owe a masterpiece of its kind, his *Areopagitica*, a powerful argument for the complete liberty of the press. **Absorbent politics.**

In the Restoration era the figure of the great poet stands apart in lonely grandeur. But Milton in truth belonged to the earlier age. The day of idealist enthusiasm had departed. Yet Puritanism was to be responsible for the production of one more imaginative writer who stands in curious contrast to the author of *Paradise Lost*. Milton was a scholar who had deliberately trained himself in the best culture of his time. John Bunyan knew one book by heart, a book which was within reach of every man who could read. He knew it by heart so that his whole spirit was permeated with it. But whereas to the great majority of Puritans the Old Testament was much more present than the New, it was not so with John Bunyan. Filled with the love of God rather than the fear of Him, he was full also of the love of men as the children of God. Through the love of God and man, and by native genius, the 'inspired tinker' wrote a book which went straight home to the hearts of all simple loving humble souls like his own. It has been said that no Puritan could have been a dramatist, yet it may almost be said that a Puritan was actually the first English novelist. In spite of its allegorical form, the *Pilgrim's Progress* is full of live human people; and without seeking to do so gives an extraordinarily **Bunyan.**

vivid picture of prevalent social types and social conditions; and therein it was the precursor of the novel of character. Bunyan had no intention of writing as an artist; for him the story and its characters were simply the vehicle for conveying Gospel truths; and yet the artist so predominated in him, all unconsciously, that the expositions and sweet discourses in which his pilgrims indulged themselves appear nothing more than slightly disconcerting excrescences in a fascinating story.

Bunyan shows us Puritanism, the Puritanism of the uncultured, as *Comus* displayed the Puritanism of the cultured, at its best. Samuel Butler in his *Hudibras* shows it at its worst, or rather he caricatures the thing which the Cavaliers of the Restoration took to be Puritanism, and the 'saints' who

'Hudibras.'

> 'Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to.'

Nothing could better illustrate the repulsion engendered by the rule of the saints, when religious profession had been the readiest road to prosperity, and there was a premium upon undetected hypocrisy. But the *Hudibras* also illustrated the fact, to which we have already referred, that the appeal of the literature which belongs not only in time but in essence to the Restoration, is directed not to the hearts but to the brains of its public.

Thus the typical figure of the period is John Dryden, the man who became in effect a literary dictator, its greatest dramatist, its supreme satirist, its master critic, its model in the writing of prose as well as of verse. Both prose and verse became in Dryden's hands consummate instruments for certain ends. He perfected for those ends the heroic couplet; but its very perfection proved its unfitness for emotional poetry. The 'heroic' drama written in heroic couplets held the stage, not because it was great, but because the taste of the time preferred declamation to tragedy; and the couplet was admirably adapted for declamation. But above all it was adapted for satire; satire appeals above all to an age, such as his, of rationalism and materialism. Dryden's verse was the most consummate instru-

Dryden.

ment of satire that English literature has known, as Dryden himself was its most consummate master.

Our period witnessed also what was practically the birth of the historical memoir, the history not of the past but of the present, the work not of research but of experience. Thus invaluable records were given to posterity by Lucy Hutchinson in the memoir of her husband, a Puritan officer. She herself was a very delightful Puritan, though her judgments of men and events were mildly vitiated by her wifely conviction that every thought, desire, or action of her somewhat priggish spouse was infallibly right. Clarendon in his exile wrote the monumental history of the Great Rebellion, and the admirable Sir William Temple composed hardly less invaluable records of his own diplomatic experiences. A word also must be said in passing of writings which were not intended by their authors for publication—the diaries of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys. They do not form links in the development of the national literature; but the latter at least is one of the most delightful human documents in existence, precisely because it was not intended for publication, but was an absolutely faithful record of public events by an official who was in touch with any number of prominent men, although he did not enjoy the confidence of statesmen, and a no less faithful register of his own private doings.

Memoirs and history.

The age also was one of great scientific progress. The old ecclesiastical embargo on scientific inquiry had disappeared wherever the Reformation had broken down the authority of the Church. Raleigh was dabbling in chemistry at the beginning of our period, and Rupert at the end of it. Harvey made his great discovery of the circulation of the blood while James I. was on the throne. Charles II. was so keenly interested in science that he established the Royal Society. A year after his accession, Isaac Newton was studying at Cambridge, and while the English were fighting the Dutch he conceived the theory of gravitation which revolutionised astronomy and physics, and even, it may be said, the whole conception of the material universe.

Natural science.

As the constitutional problem overshadowed all other interests in politics, and most other interests outside politics, the most characteristic, though by no means the most remarkable, product of the new scientific spirit was to be found in its application to political theory. There had indeed in the sixteenth century been tentative efforts to arrive at a theory of government; it might perhaps be said that Hooker in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* laid the foundations of English political science. Politics forms a definite branch of the Universal Science as conceived by Bacon; and it was as a branch of Universal Science that Thomas Hobbes evolved that theory of the State set forth in the *Leviathan*, which is sometimes regarded as the original of the peculiarly English schools of moral and political philosophy.

Political science.

Convinced of the necessity for monarchism, Hobbes sought to provide for it a rational basis more convincing than the doctrine of Divine Right. He arrived at it by his peculiar theory of the Social Contract. By nature all men were originally in a state of mutual war, every individual seeking his own advantage regardless of his neighbour. To terminate this state of affairs, so extremely unsatisfactory to all but the strongest, they entered into a mutual compact to obey one head, whether a single person or a group of persons; and by this compact all members of the society, and all who were born or otherwise brought into the society, were permanently bound. But Hobbes required to make the sovereign thus constituted irremovable; therefore he set the sovereign himself outside the compact. The subjects were under obligations to him which they had imposed upon themselves; he was under no obligation to them, and was responsible to no one but the Almighty. There was no escape, according to Hobbes, from the law of absolute obedience; the sovereign's authority was as complete in religion as in anything else, a point of view which by no means appealed either to churchmen or to Nonconformists. But the way of escape was found by the Whigs, and was formulated for them by John Locke. Locke in the essays on *Civil Government* and on the *Human Understanding* two years after the Revolution had taken

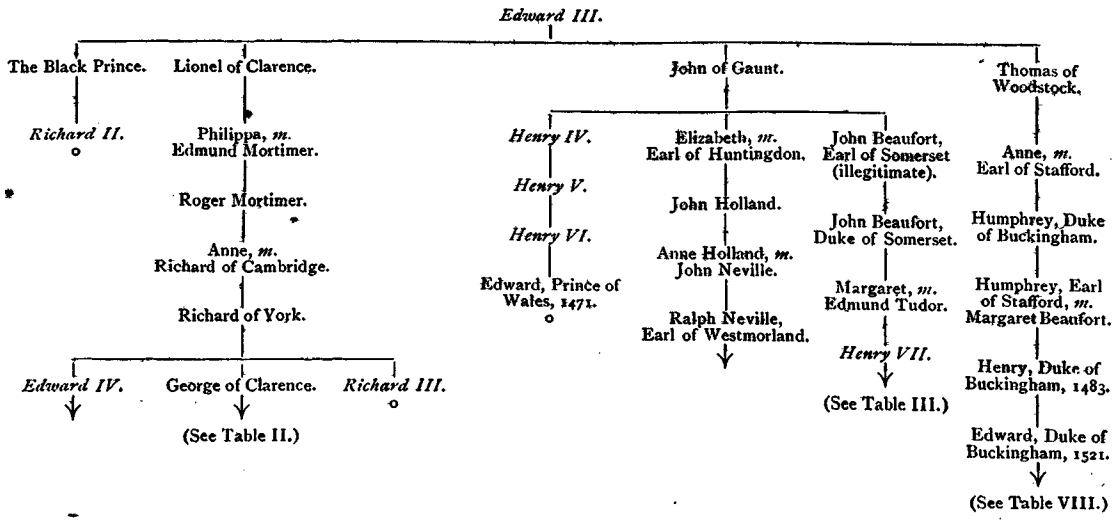
'Leviathan.'

Locke.

place. The sovereign became a party to the contract, bound by it to govern justly, and removable if he broke his side of the agreement. Locke's essays became the text-book of the Whiggism which was habitually dominant for the next three-quarters of a century.

TABLE I.

THE DESCENT FROM EDWARD III.



↓ Left children. o Left no legitimate offspring. Dates signify the year of death.

TABLE II.

THE DESCENDANTS OF RICHARD OF YORK

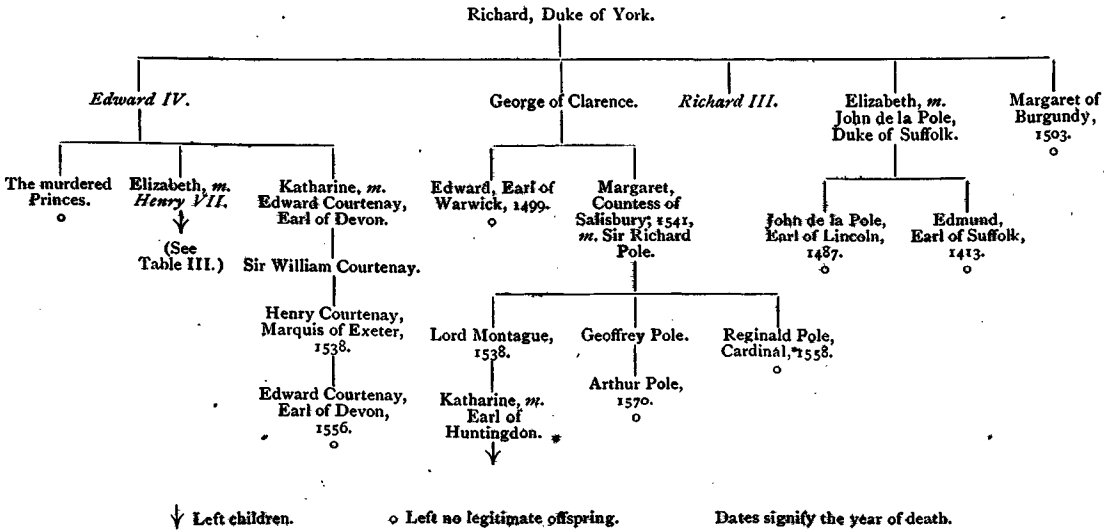
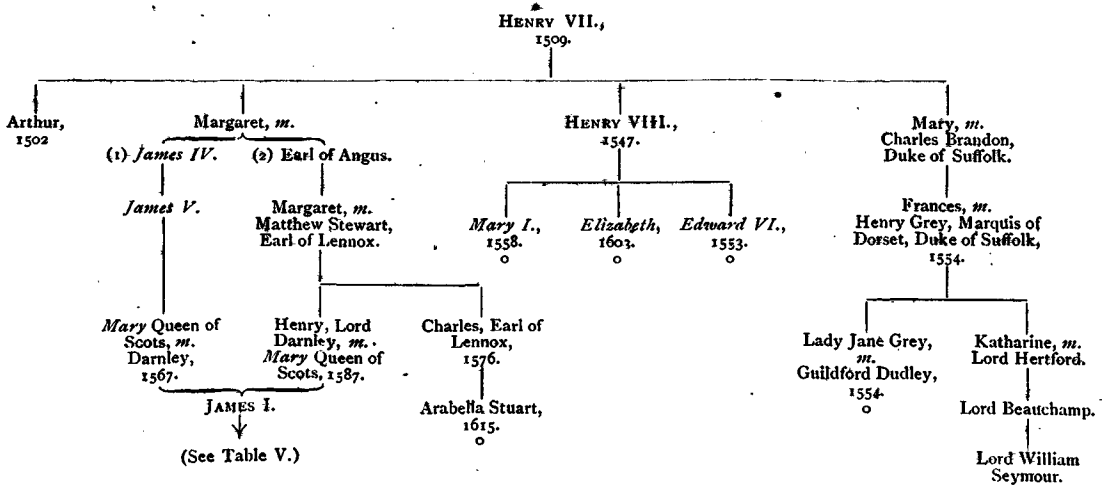

Richard, Duke of York.
Edward IV.
George of Clarence.
Richard III.
Elizabeth, m. John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.
Margaret of Burgundy, 1503.
The murdered Princes.
Elizabeth, m. Henry VII.
(See Table III.)
Katharine, m. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon.
Sir William Courtenay.
Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, 1538.
Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1556.
Edward, Earl of Warwick, 1499.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury; 1541, m. Sir Richard Pole.
Lord Montague, 1538.
Katharine, m. Earl of Huntingdon.
Geoffrey Pole.
Arthur Pole, 1570.
Reginald Pole, Cardinal, 1558.
John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, 1487.
Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, 1413.
Left children.
Left no legitimate offspring.
Dates signify the year of death.

TABLE III.

THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII.

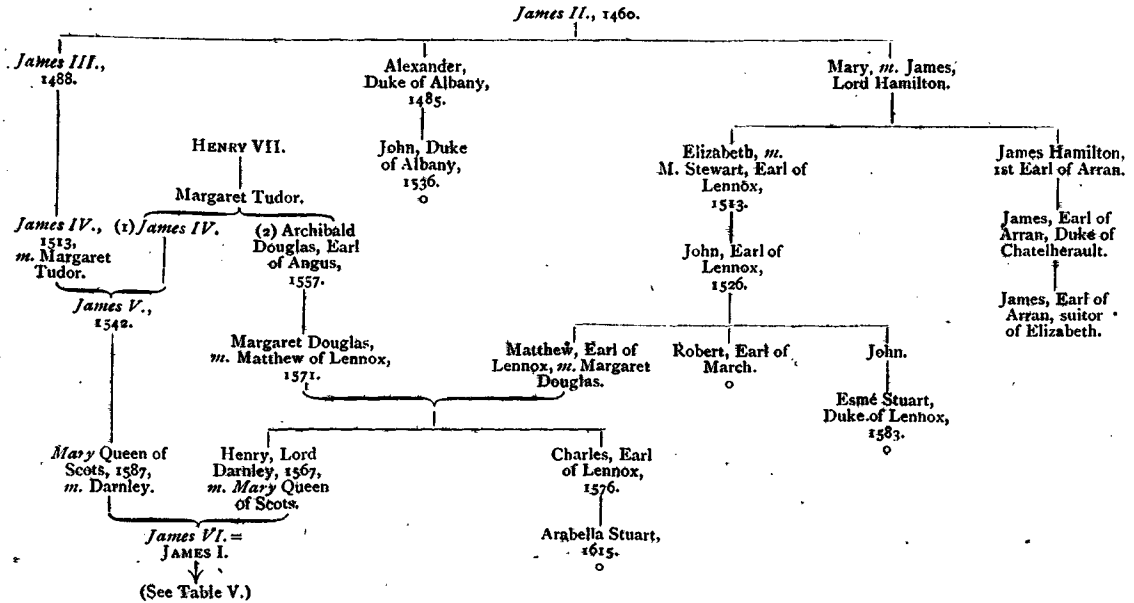

HENRY VII., 1509.
Arthur, 1502
Margaret, m.
(1) James IV.
(2) Earl of Angus.
HENRY VIII., 1547.
Mary, m. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
James V.
Margaret, m. Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox.
Mary I., 1558. o
Elizabeth, 1603. o
Edward VI., 1553. o
Frances, m. Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk, 1554.
Mary Queen of Scots, m. Darnley, 1567.
Henry, Lord Darnley, m. Mary Queen of Scots, 1587.
Charles, Earl of Lennox, 1576.
Lady Jane Grey, m. Guildford Dudley, 1554. o
Katharine, m. Lord Hertford.
JAMES I.
(See Table V.)
Arabella Stuart, 1615. o
Lord Beauchamp.
Lord William Seymour.

↓ Left children.
Dates signify the year of death.

o Left no legitimate offspring.
Italics, Scots Monarchs; CAPITALS, English Monarchs.

TABLE IV.

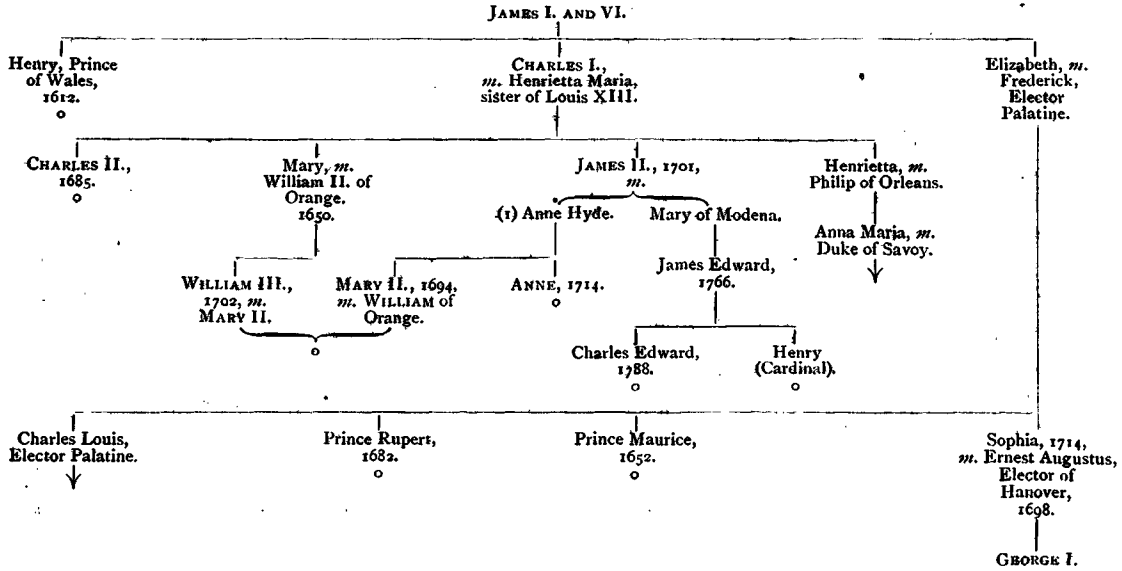
THE BLOOD ROYAL OF SCOTLAND


James II., 1460.
James III., 1488.
Alexander, Duke of Albany, 1485.
Mary, m. James, Lord Hamilton.
Henry VII.
John, Duke of Albany, 1536. o
Elizabeth, m. M. Stewart, Earl of Lennox, 1513.
James Hamilton, 1st Earl of Arran.
Margaret Tudor.
James IV., 1513, m. Margaret Tudor.
(1) James IV.
(2) Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, 1557.
John, Earl of Lennox, 1526.
James, Earl of Arran, Duke of Chatelherault.
James V., 1542.
Margaret Douglas, m. Matthew of Lennox, 1571.
Matthew, Earl of Lennox, m. Margaret Douglas.
Robert, Earl of March. o
John.
James, Earl of Arran, suitor of Elizabeth.
Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, 1583. o
Mary Queen of Scots, 1587, m. Darnley.
Henry, Lord Darnley, 1567, m. Mary Queen of Scots.
Charles, Earl of Lennox, 1576.
James VI. = James I.
Arabella Stuart, 1615. o
(See Table V.)

o Left no legitimate issue. ↓ Left issue. Dates signify the year of death.

TABLE V.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I. AND VI.


JAMES I. AND VI.
Henry, Prince of Wales, 1612. o
CHARLES I., m. Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII.
Elizabeth, m. Frederick, Elector Palatine.
CHARLES II., 1685. o
Mary, m. William II. of Orange. 1650.
JAMES II., 1701, m.
(1) Anne Hyde.
Mary of Modena.
Henrietta, m. Philip of Orleans.
Anna Maria, m. Duke of Savoy.
WILLIAM III., 1702, m. MARY II.
MARY II., 1694, m. WILLIAM of Orange.
ANNE, 1714. o
James Edward, 1766.
Charles Edward, 1788. o
Henry (Cardinal). o
Charles Louis, Elector Palatine.
Prince Rupert, 1682. o
Prince Maurice, 1652. o
Sophia, 1714, m. Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, 1698.
GEORGE I.

o Left no legitimate issue.

Dates signify the year of death.

TABLE VI.

THE AUSTRIAN AND SPANISH HOUSES TO 1620

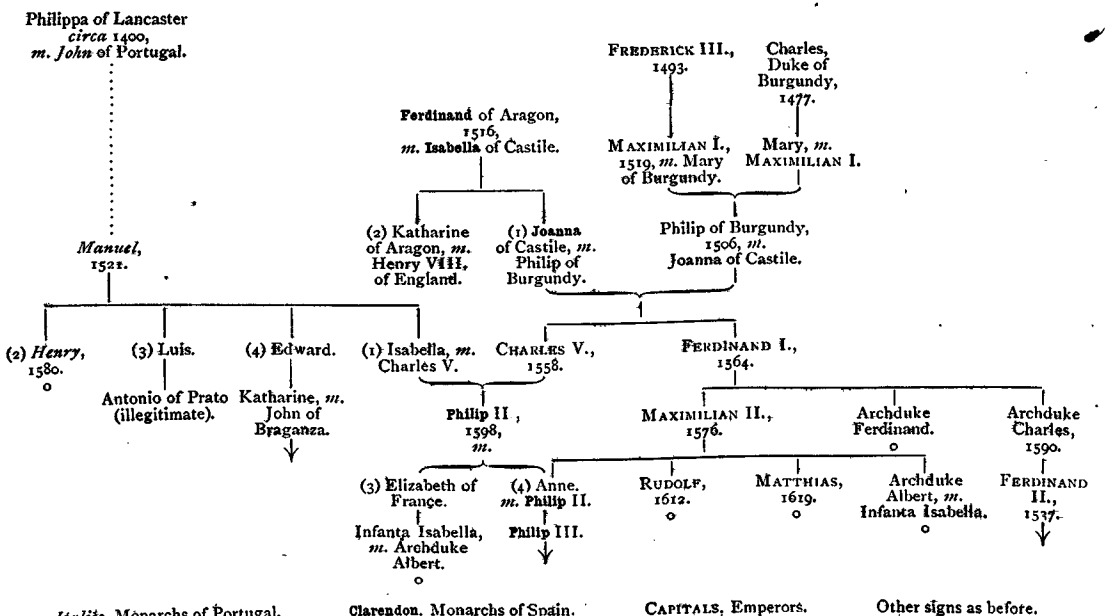
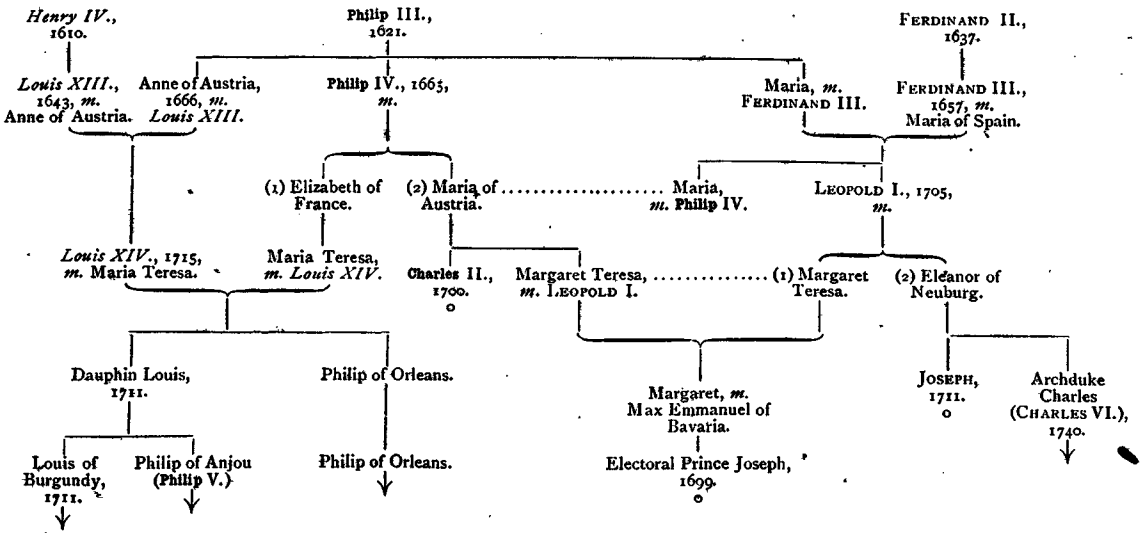


TABLE VII.

HAPSBURG AND BOURBON INTERMARRIAGES

(SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

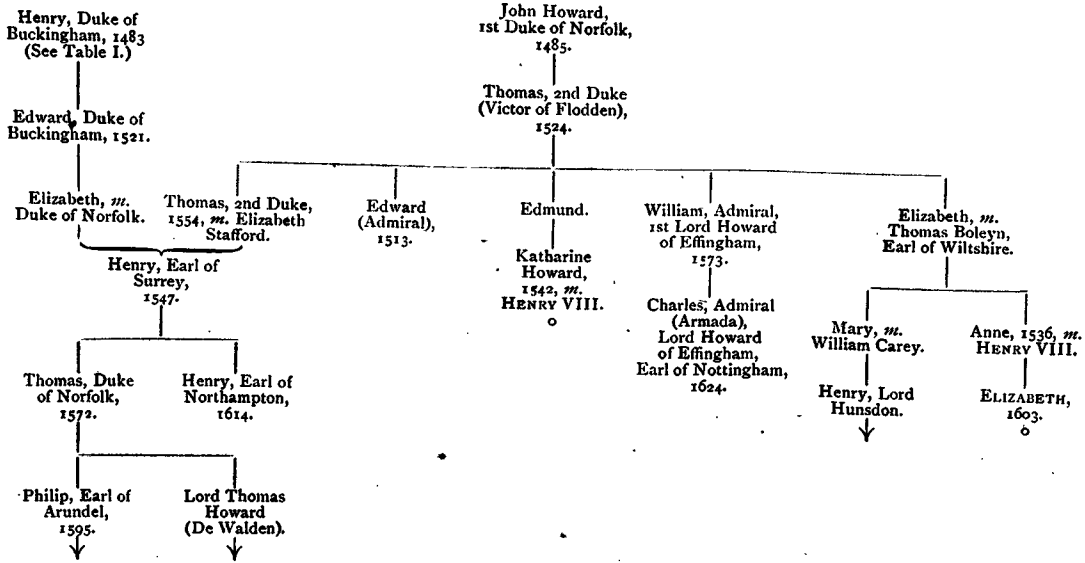

Henry IV., 1610.
Louis XIII., 1643, m. Anne of Austria.
Anne of Austria, 1666, m. Louis XIII.
Louis XIV., 1715, m. Maria Teresa.
Dauphin Louis, 1711.
Louis of Burgundy, 1711.
Philip of Anjou (Philip V.)
Philip III., 1621.
Philip IV., 1665, m.
(1) Elizabeth of France.
Maria Teresa, m. Louis XIV.
(2) Maria of Austria.
Charles II., 1700.
Philip of Orleans.
Philip of Orleans.
Maria, m. FERDINAND III.
Maria, m. Philip IV.
Margaret Teresa, m. LEOPOLD I.
Margaret, m. Max Emmanuel of Bavaria.
Electoral Prince Joseph, 1699.
FERDINAND II., 1637.
FERDINAND III., 1657, m. Maria of Spain.
LEOPOLD I., 1705, m.
(1) Margaret Teresa.
(2) Eleanor of Neuburg.
JOSEPH, 1711.
Archduke Charles (CHARLES VI.), 1740.

Italics, French Monarchs. **Clarendon**, Spanish Monarchs. CAPITALS, Emperor.

TABLE VIII.

THE HOWARDS

SHOWING THE CONNECTION WITH THE BLOOD ROYAL


Henry, Duke of Buckingham, 1483 (See Table I.)
Edward, Duke of Buckingham, 1521.
Elizabeth, m. Duke of Norfolk.
John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk, 1485.
Thomas, 2nd Duke (Victor of Flodden), 1524.
Thomas, 2nd Duke, 1554, m. Elizabeth Stafford.
Edward (Admiral), 1513.
Edmund.
Katharine Howard, 1542, m. HENRY VIII. o
William, Admiral, 1st Lord Howard of Effingham, 1573.
Charles, Admiral (Armada), Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham, 1624.
Elizabeth, m. Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire.
Mary, m. William Carey.
Henry, Lord Hunsdon.
Anne, 1536, m. HENRY VIII.
ELIZABETH, 1603. o
Henry, Earl of Surrey, 1547.
Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, 1572.
Henry, Earl of Northampton, 1614.
Philip, Earl of Arundel, 1595.
Lord Thomas Howard (De Walden).

o Left no legitimate issue.

Dates signify the year of death.

NOTES

I. TRIALS OF PEERS

DURING the Middle Ages the peers, lay and clerical, had insisted on the right of trial, not by the king's judges, but by members of their own order. The classic example was the case of Archbishop Stratford in 1340. The right, however, came to be recognised only in respect of charges of treason or felony. A peer so charged, if parliament were in session, stood his trial before the peers assembled; if parliament were not in session, before the Court of the Lord High Steward. After the reign of Henry IV., the steward was a peer appointed for the occasion by the king; and the steward selected assessors, usually twenty-three in number, who were judges of the fact. Such a court (*e.g.* that which condemned Buckingham in 1521) could manifestly be artificially made as subservient to the king's wishes as the most obedient of the king's judges. Before 1459, and after 1621, the usual alternative to an ordinary trial was impeachment, but this could only take place when parliament was sitting. Between 1459 and 1621, and on rare occasions subsequently (*e.g.* in the cases of Strafford and Monmouth), an Act of Attainder might be brought into play instead of a trial. After the Revolution, it became necessary for the Lord High Steward to summon the whole body of peers, instead of selected assessors, when the charge was one of treason; but in effect his court became obsolete when no year passed without a parliament.

II. COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

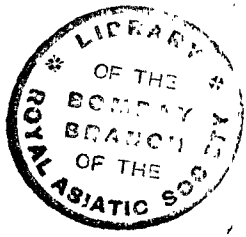
At the beginning of the Tudor period there were thirty-seven shires and one hundred and twelve cities and boroughs which returned two members each to the House of Commons. In the counties the franchise was fixed and regular; any one with a freehold worth not less than forty shillings net per annum was a voter, but no one else, not even lease-holders or copy-holders (the descendants of holders in villeinage) could vote, whatever the value of their holding. The members themselves had to be knights or persons of substance competent to take up knighthood.

In boroughs and cities the franchise was wholly irregular—that is, it differed widely in different towns. In some, the qualification was the forty-shilling freehold; in others, even that limitation had never been imposed, and all freeholders could vote; in others, there was a narrow oligarchical constitution, and the member was virtually or actually chosen by the corporation. The Crown had the prerogative of erecting new boroughs; the number of members in the Long Parliament was two hundred and six more than in the first parliament of Henry VIII.; of these, Wales, Chester, and the Universities accounted for thirty-two, so that one hundred and seventy-four new borough members had been added during the period, chiefly between 1547 and 1603. Northumberland's rule was especially prolific of new boroughs, as he was peculiarly shameless in the packing of parliament. It was the general rule that when a new borough was created the charter gave it a very oligarchical type of government, which at the outset—though not necessarily in the long run—made it an instrument of the Crown. Even in the early Tudor times, many boroughs were virtually controlled by the influence of magnates, such as the Duke of Norfolk, which may to some extent account for the harmony between Henry VIII. and his Commons. But the new boroughs of Mary and Elizabeth occasionally sent up members like Paul and Peter Wentworth, whose freedom of speech was not to the Queen's liking. It is further to be noted that in the towns there was a marked tendency to elect members not from the town bourgeoisie, but from the country gentry, the class from which the counties chose their representatives.

III. THE ARMY

Until the creation of the New Model in 1645 there was no regular army in existence. Mediæval statutes required the population of every shire to answer the call to arms, when summoned, with a regular scale of equipment. This took the modified form of 'commissions of array,' when the king's officers were in effect authorised to press a given number of men for active service, instead of calling up the shire levy; and for foreign wars from the time of Edward III. the king contracted with notable warriors to pay volunteers marching under their banners. It was matter of dispute how far the Crown had power to make foreign service compulsory. There was no organised system for keeping men trained to arms in time of peace; but the king could call up the shire levies for defence. The normal methods in Tudor times may be inferred from the travesty conducted by Sir John Falstaff, knight. The king had permanently in his pay only a few yeomen of the guard and a few soldiers in the fortresses.

London was almost the only town which seriously endeavoured (not without mockery) to keep its 'trained bands' in a state of comparative efficiency. When the Civil War broke out the king endeavoured to raise troops by impressing men under commissions of array, while the parliament sought to call up the shire levies which had come to be known as the 'Militia.' Both sides relied largely upon volunteers; it had been impossible to maintain a standing army, because the Crown had no revenue which it could appropriate permanently to the payment of troops, and the country had no desire to keep troops permanently under arms. Apart from the cost, discipline could not be maintained without subjecting the troops to martial law, an innovation which excited much indignation when it was first introduced in time of actual peace. But the Civil War led to the creation of an army, the New Model, which was paid out of the treasury, and neither the Long Parliament nor the Rump was able to disband it. The existence of the Commonwealth was bound up with it. At the Restoration, most of it was disbanded, but the Coldstream Guards were allowed to be retained. In spite of the Petition of Right, the officers continued to treat the troops as being under martial law. More troops were raised from time to time, for Tangier or for expected war with France, and the government managed to evade disbanding them. James II. had as many as sixteen thousand men at Hounslow—troops permanently in the king's pay. But it was not till 1689 that the Mutiny Act formally sanctioned the maintenance of a standing army of specified strength in time of peace, subjected to martial law for disciplinary purposes.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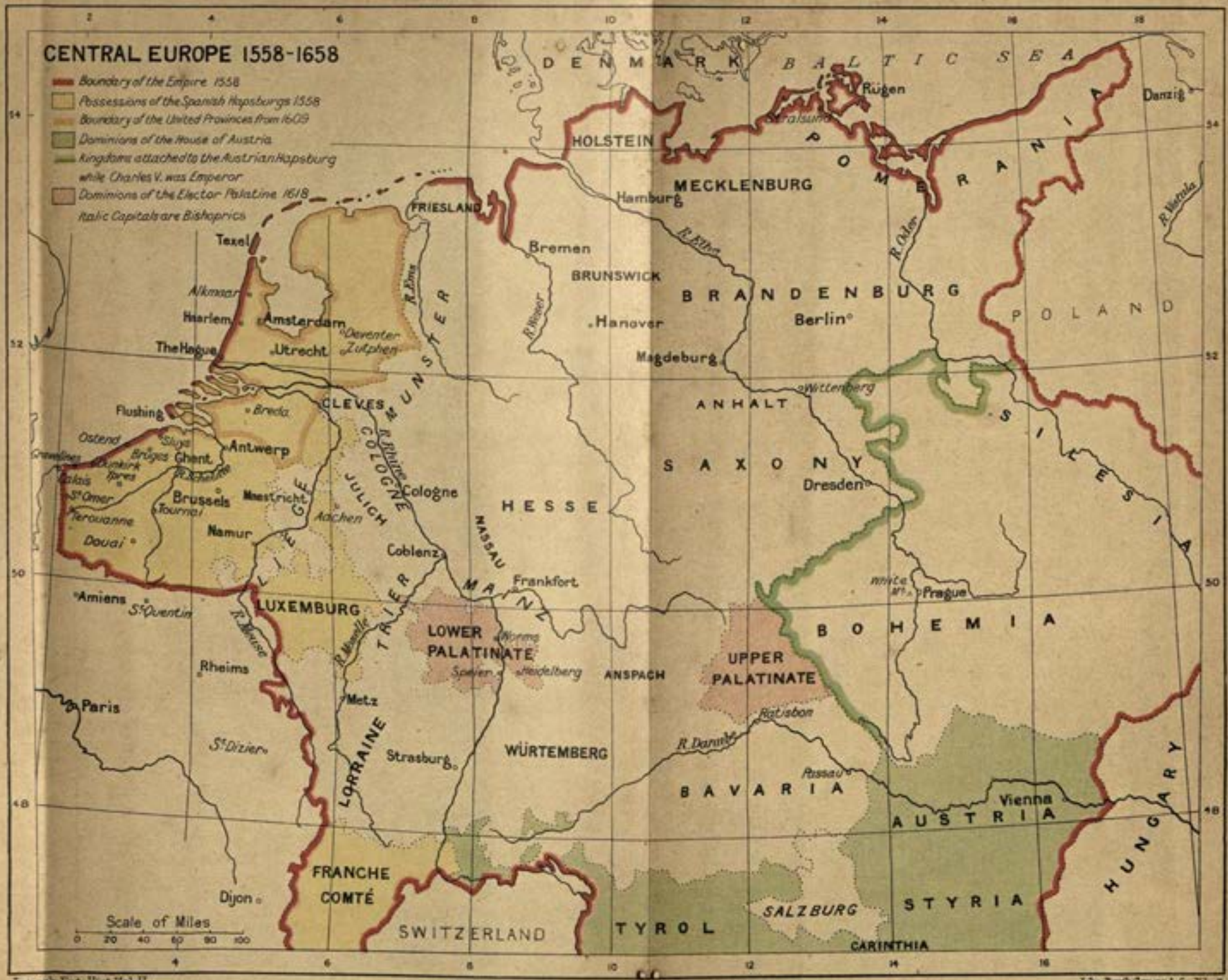

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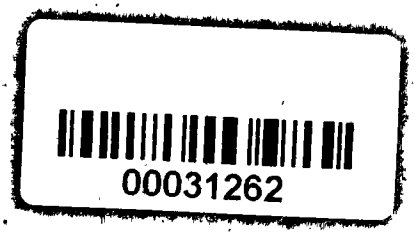

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